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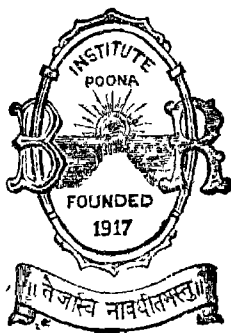
[ PART IV

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EDITED BY

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1945

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OCTOBER 1944

[ PART IV

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## AN ANCIENT DYNASTY OF KHANDESH

BY

V. V. Mirasbi

Nearly twenty-five years ago Dr R C Majumdar edited two copper-plate grants which Dr D R Bhandarkar had obtained from a Brāhmana in the Indore State<sup>1</sup>. One of these, which was made by the *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa in the year 67, registers the gift of a field in the village Daksina-Valmika-tallavātaka which lay in the Nagarikā-pathaka. The other, which was made by the *Mahārāja* Bhulunda in the year 107, records the donation of a field on the boundary of a village the name of which was read by Dr. Majumdar as Rulladana, but appears to be correctly Ulladana<sup>2</sup>. Both these grants plainly belonged to the same dynasty, for they were both issued from the same place Valkha<sup>3</sup>. Besides, their characters, phraseology and mode of dating<sup>4</sup> are the same. The dynasty has not been named in the

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ep Ind*, Vol XV p 286.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is hook-shaped with the curve turned to the right. In *ru* the sign of the medial *u* should have been a curve turned downwards and added to the vertical of the southern form of *r*.

<sup>3</sup> The reading in both the grants is Valkhā, the final consonant *t* being incorrectly omitted as in several other cases in ancient grants. See, e. g., *Narattangavāri-sthānā*, *Ep Ind*, Vol XXII, p 171, *Nāndivardhanā*, *ibid*, Vol XXVI, p 158.

<sup>4</sup> Both the grants are recorded in box-headed characters, the boxes at the top of letters being scooped out hollow. They use the word *varsa* in stead of the usual *sāhvatsara* to denote the year of registration. The formal part of the grants is also almost exactly the same.

grants and has not so far been known from any other source. It is however certain that it was a feudatory family, for both *Mahārāja Svāmidāsa* and *Mahārāja Bhulunda* describe themselves as *Parama-bhattāraka-pād-ānudyāta*, i. e., 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord' which indicates their feudatory status. Dr. Majumdar could not suggest any identification of Valkha which was apparently the capital of the dynasty. His identifications of Nagarikā with the ancient city of Nāgara which lies 75 miles from the borders of the Indore State and of Tallavāṣṭaka either with Adalwār, 37 miles north-east from Nāgara or with Talaorā, about 50 miles north-east from the same city, cannot be regarded as quite certain in the absence of definite information about the provenance of these grants.

Dr. Majumdar referred the dates of these grants to the Gupta era on palaeographic grounds. For, according to him their characters resemble those of the Sāñci inscription of Candragupta II. Though the grants mention the year, month and fortnight, they do not give further details such as the week-day or the *nakṣatra* and therefore their dates do not admit of verification. If Dr. Majumdar's view is accepted, Svāmidāsa's grant would be one of the earliest dated records of the Gupta era. But there are certain difficulties in accepting this view. If Svāmidāsa and Bhulunda were the feudatories of the Guptas, it looks strange that, unlike other feudatories,<sup>1</sup> they do not name their suzerain. Besides, if these grants were originally found in the Indore State, we shall have to suppose that the rule of the Guptas was well established in Malwa as early as G. E. 67 (A. D. 386), whereas we know that the Western Ksatrapas were supreme in Kathiawad and Malwa till A. D. 388 at least.<sup>2</sup> The earliest certain Gupta date from Malwa is the year 82 of the Udayagiri cave inscription of the reign of Candragupta II. It would therefore seem that these dates refer to some other era.

<sup>1</sup> See, e. g., that the Sanakānika *Mahārāja* describes himself as meditating on the feet of Candragupta II in his Udayagiri inscription, dated G. E. 82. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> The coins of Rudrasimha, the last of the Western Ksatrapas, are dated Śaka 310 or 31x (A. D. 388 or 388 + x). See Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc., pp. 92 ff.

It is doubtful if these grants were originally found in the Indore State, or, for the matter of that, anywhere to the north of the Narmadā. From a statement recently published in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXIV, p. 52, we learn that these grants together with another (*viz.*, the so-called Indore grant of the Vākātaka Pravarasena II) were in the possession of Pandit Vaman Shastri Islampurkar, from whom they were obtained by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The Pandit was engaged in collecting old manuscripts and ancient historical records in different parts of the country.<sup>1</sup> These two grants, like the grant of Pravarasena II, may therefore have been found outside the Indore State. Unfortunately their provenance has not been recorded, but there is one circumstance which affords a clue. It has not yet been noticed that these grants bear a very close resemblance to a copper-plate grant<sup>2</sup> found at Sirpur in the West Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency. This latter grant is fragmentary, for a small piece of the copper-plate about 1" broad, has been broken off the whole way down on the proper right side. The extant portion of the inscription shows that it registers a grant, by *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa, of a field on the western boundary of the village Vikattānaka which adjoined another village (or field) named Kolahattaka. The grant is dated in the year 117 of an unspecified era.<sup>3</sup> That it belongs to the same dynasty as the other two grants edited by Dr. Majumdar appears clear from the following common features —

(1) The name of the *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa who made the grant resembles that of the *Mahārāja* Svāmīdāsa of one of the Indore grants. Again, like Svāmīdāsa and Bhulunda, Rudradāsa describes himself as *Parama-bhattāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*

<sup>1</sup> See his introduction to the *Navasūhasāṅkacarita* (Bombay Sanskrit Series)

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraj, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XVI, pp. 98 ff

<sup>3</sup> Pandit Bhagwanlal read the date as 118, but was not certain about the era to which it refers. The last symbol denoting the year is exactly similar to that in the date of the Ābhaya plates of Śaṅkaragana which is also expressed in words. See 1 34 of the facsimile facing p. 297, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol IX



(2) The characters and phraseology of Śīrpur grant are strikingly similar to those of the Indore grants

(3) The date is also similarly worded and the year is introduced with the word *varsa* as in the other two Indore grants

(4) The place of issue is not named in the extant portion of the Śīrpur grant, but it must have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line, where two or three letters have now been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece of the plate on the proper right. It is noteworthy that the two dots which followed the name of the place of issue as a sign of punctuation are still seen in the beginning of the first line as on the Indore plate of Bhulunda. The signature of *Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa*, which must have occurred in the margin on the proper right as in the other two grants, is now lost

These similarities leave no doubt that all the three grants belong to the same dynasty. The grant of Rudraśāsa is known to have been found in the possession of one Motiram Patil of Śīrpur<sup>1</sup> and must in all probability have belonged to Khandesh. The so called Indore grants also may likewise have been found some where in Khandesh. With this clue we can satisfactorily identify many of the places mentioned in the three grants. The capital Valkha from which at least two of these grants were issued, is probably identical with Vāghli, about 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh, or the Bombay-Bhusawal line of the G. I. P. Railway. It is an old place as it contains some ancient temples and old Sanskrit inscriptions some of which have now become illegible.<sup>2</sup> Nagarikā, the head-quarters of the territorial division (*pathaka*) mentioned in the grant of Svāmīdāsa may be identical with Nagar Devlā about 10 miles north-east of Vāghli, which also contains an old 'Hemādapanti' temple of Mahādeva.<sup>3</sup> Tallavātaka may be Talvād khurd, about 15 miles north by west of Nagar Devlā. Ulladana mentioned in the other

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 98

<sup>2</sup> See *Khandesh District Gazetteer*, p. 478. One of these inscriptions in three parts edited by Dr. Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.) shows that Vāghli became afterwards the capital of a feudatory royal family named Maurya which originally hailed from Valabhi in Kathiawad and later on owed allegiance to the Yādavas of Khandesh.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Indore grant of Bhulunda is probably identical with Udhli<sup>1</sup> on the Tāpti, about 9 miles east of Bhusawal, in East Khandesh. I have not been able to locate satisfactorily the places mentioned in the Śirpur plate, except Vīkattīnaka which may be Vitnerā, about 20 miles south by east of Śirpur. But the identification of the other localities leaves no doubt that the dynasty was ruling in Khandesh, probably from Vāghli in the neighbourhood of Chalisgaon.

We thus get the following three names of the kings of this dynasty —

*Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa* ( year 67 )

|

*Mahārāja Bhulunda* ( year 107 )

|

*Mahārāja Rudradāsa* ( year 117 )

As these grants do not mention any royal genealogy, the relation of these princes *inter se* is not known. As stated before, these princes acknowledged the suzerainty of some other power not specified in their grants. The dates of their grants must therefore be referred to the era founded by this power. Now these dates cannot be referred to the Gupta era, for no certain dates of that era have been found to the south of the Narmadā except in the solitary instance of the Ārang plate<sup>2</sup> of Balamasena from Chhattisgarh. In any case Gupta power did not penetrate to Khandesh as early as the end of the fourth century A. D.<sup>3</sup> The use of the word *varṣa* in connection with these dates may be taken to point to the Saka era, but that era is out of question here as the characters of the grant are far more developed as already noticed by

<sup>1</sup> The description in the record that the field was granted together with the surrounding *kaccha* (bank) suits Udhli very well as it is situated on the bank of the Tāpti.

<sup>2</sup> For the correct date of this record, see my article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff. The Betul plates of the Parivrajaka king Samksobha dated G. E. 199 were also found to the south of the Narmadā, but their contents show that they originally belonged to the Jabulpur District. See also Hirai's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, (Second ed.), p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> The identification of Eraṇḍapalli, mentioned in the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, with Eraṇḍol in Khandesh proposed by Fleet is now held to be untenable.

Pandit Bhagwanlal and Dr Majumdar The only other era to which these dates can be referred is the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era which, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> was founded by the Ābhīra king Īsvarasena, in A D 249 Khandesh was the stronghold of the Ābhīras Even now the Ābhīras or Ahīrs predominate in that district These princes who were evidently ruling in Khandesh were probably feudatories of the Ābhīras whose era they have used in their grants. The years 67, 107 and 117 mentioned in these records therefore correspond to A. D 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 respectively<sup>2</sup> Except for the date of the Nasik cave inscription of the Ābhīra Īsvarasena, these are the earliest dates of that era

No copper-plate inscriptions of the successors of Rudradāsa have been discovered, but in an inscription in cave XVII at Ajantā we find some similar names ending in *dāsa* which may have belonged to the same dynasty This inscription has lost a considerable portion on the left It was first edited by Dr Bhau Daji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol VII, pp 59 ff, then by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temple of Western India*, pp. 63 ff and finally, by Dr Buhler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol IV, pp 129 ff Buhler's transcript is accompanied by a facsimile prepared from an inked estampage taken by Bhagwanlal, but it is considerably worked up by hand A correct edition of the record together with a purely mechanical facsimile is still a desideratum. From an excellent estampage which I owe to the kindness of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, I was able to correct some of Dr Buhler's readings The inscription mentions the following princes —

<sup>1</sup> My article on this era will soon be published in this journal

<sup>2</sup> The use of word *varṣa* to signify the years of this era seems to be in imitation of the Śaka era which was previously current in *Mahārāṣṭra*. Again, the use of Sanskrit in these grants need not cause any surprise as the revival of the classical language had already begun in *Mahārāṣṭra* in the third century A D The Nasik inscription of the Ābhīra Īsvarasena is written in almost correct Sanskrit as already remarked by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar

- 1 ( Name lost )
- 2 Dhrtarāstra
- 3 Harisāmba
- 4 Śaurisāmba
- 5 Upendragupta
- 6 Kāca I
- 7 Bhiksudāsa
- 8 Niladāsa
- 9 Kāca II
- 10 Kṛṣṇadāsa

11 ( name lost )

Ravisāmba

The two sons of Kṛṣṇadāsa are compared to Pradyumna and Sāmba. The name of the elder son is lost. That of the younger one ended in *sāmba* and may have been Ravisāmba as read by Bhagwanlal and Bühler <sup>1</sup> The two brothers conquered Āsmaka and other countries and lived happily with increasing ( fraternal ) love and fame <sup>2</sup> After some time Ravisāmba died prematurely. His elder brother, being overwhelmed with sorrow and convinced of the transitoriness of the world, <sup>3</sup> began to lead a pious life. He waited upon saintly persons known for their learning, charity, compassion and other virtues and imitated in his actions righteous kings of the past. He bestowed munificent gifts on supplicants and adorned the whole world with his fame. He caused *stūpas* and *vihāras* to be erected and got the excellent monolith *maṇḍapa* together with a *caitya* of

<sup>1</sup> The first *akṣara* does not appear exactly like *ra*

<sup>2</sup> In line 9 Bhagwanlal read *ekādhipatyā-pratham-āvatāram dadhre dvitīyo Ravisāmba-samjñam*, which Bühler changed into *ekādhipatyam prathamam babhūra* which conveys the meaning that the elder brother became Emperor. The correct reading, however is *dharādhipāḥhyam prathamam babhūra* which means that the elder brother succeeded to the throne.

<sup>3</sup> In line 17 Dr Bhau Daji had correctly read *anīyasamjñā-sacivas = tataḥ param vyavīrḍhat = punya-mahā-mahīruham*, but took *anīya* to be the name of a minister. Bhagwanlal and Bühler read *Acintya-* and *Acitya-* respectively and took these to be the name of the minister. The correct reading is undoubtedly *anīya-* and the sense evidently is that the prince was all the while conscious of the transitoriness of life

the Buddha to be excavated in the form of the present cave XVII at Ajantā, while Harisena, the moon among princes (*kṣitīndra-candra*), was protecting the earth. He also provided it with a water-cistern and caused a noble *gandhakutī* to be excavated to the west of it in another part of the hill<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing account of the inscription in Ajantā cave XVII shows that the last of these kings was a contemporary and perhaps a feudatory of the Vākātaka king Harisena who flourished from circa A. D. 475 to A. D. 500<sup>2</sup>. He was preceded by ten other princes. The first of these may therefore be placed in circa A. D. 275-300. Some of these princes may therefore have been contemporaries of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulunda and Rudradāsa whose dates range from A. D. 316 to A. D. 366, but the latter names do not occur anywhere in the list of the Ajantā inscription. We can reconcile the known data by supposing either that these kings were collaterals of the princes mentioned in the Ajantā inscription or that they belonged to a different branch and ruled over a different part of Khandesh.

These kings were at first feudatories of the Ābhīras whose empire, judging from the use of their era seems to have extended from Konkan in the west to Khandesh in the east and from the Narmadā in the north to the Kṛsnā in the south. According to the Purāṇas ten Ābhīra kings ruled for 67 years. This however gives an incredibly small average of 6.7 years per reign. Perhaps the expression *sapta-saṣṭi śatān-īha*, stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a Ms. of the *Vāyupurāṇa*<sup>3</sup> is a mistake for *sapta-saṣṭim satān=c=ēha*<sup>4</sup>. If this is correct,

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<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the so-called Cātīya cave XIX which actually lies to the west of Cave XVII. The proper name of such caves is *gandhakutī*. Incidentally this furnishes a definite date for the beautifully sculptured cave XIX, which had long been missed, for Bhagwanlal thought that the reference was to the small cave XVIII from which he thought the image had been removed, while Bühler thought the *gandhakutī* lay to the west of the Buddha's (?) body.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Vākātaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā* edited by me in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Fargiter, *Dynasties of the Kālī Age*, p. 46, n. 37.

<sup>4</sup> For a similar expression *pañcavarṣa-satān=īha* which Fargiter takes as 'probably meaning 105 years'.

the Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years. The unnamed Great Lords on whose feet Svāmīdāsa, Bhulunda and Rudradāsa meditated may thus have belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty. After the fall of the Ābhīras, these princes seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākātakas who were their powerful neighbour to the east. Harisena, the last of the Vākātakas, is mentioned in the Ajantā inscription as the contemporary ruling king.

From the mention of Asmaka in line 10 of the Ajantā inscription Pandit Bhagwanlal inferred that these kings were ruling over Asmaka.<sup>1</sup> But the correct reading of the line is *m-Asmak-ādikān deśānś-ca* [ *tesām* ] = *abhibhūya bhūyasā rarūjatuś=candra-dvākarāv=va* 'The two (sons of Kṛṣṇadāsa), having overcome Asmaka and other countries, shone mostly like the sun and the moon.' Asmaka was thus one of the countries raided by these princes, it was not their home-land. In fact Asmaka was not the ancient name of Khandesh. From the *Suttanipāta* we learn that the Asmakas had a settlement on the Godāvari.<sup>2</sup> The Pāṇḍarāṅgapallī plates of about the same age as the Ajantā inscription state that Mānānka, the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty had conquered Vīdarbhā and Asmaka which appear to have been contiguous countries. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> Vīdarbhā in that inscription refers to the kingdom of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātakas. Asmaka seems, therefore, to have comprised the Aurangabad and perhaps the Ahamadnagar district. The Ajantā or Sātmālā range separated Asmaka from Khandesh as it divided Vīdarbhā into Northern and Southern Vīdarbhā. Another Ajantā inscription in Cave XXVI<sup>4</sup> which belongs to a slightly later date refers to a minister of the kings of Asmaka in whose honour the cave was excavated. The country of Asmaka thus lay to the south of Ajantā and was different from Khandesh which lay to the north of it.

The ancient name of Khandesh seems to have been Rśika. No satisfactory identification of this latter country has yet been suggested. Varāhamihira places Rśika in the southern division

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions from the Cave Temple etc.*, p. 73, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Suttanipāta*, p. 977.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XXV, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> See *Arch. Surv. of West India*, Vol. IV, pp. 132 ff.

2 [ *Annals*, B. O. R. I. ]

In the *Rāmāyana* Ṛṣika is grouped with Vidarbha and Māhisaka among countries of the south which Sugriva asked monkeys to visit in search of Sītā.<sup>1</sup> In the *Mahābhārata* also Ṛṣika is coupled with Vidarbha.<sup>2</sup> Another verse of the *Mahābhārata* connects Ṛṣika with the western Anūpa country.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere, the epic couples Ṛṣika with Āsmaka while mentioning the countries conquered by Karna.<sup>4</sup> In the *Daśakumāracarita* the ruler of Ṛṣika is said to have been, like that of Āsmaka, a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha.<sup>5</sup> The Nāsik cave inscription of Pulumāvi mentions Asika (Sanskrit, Ṛṣika) together with Asaka (Sanskrit, Āsmaka) among the countries which were under the rule of his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇa.<sup>6</sup> All these references plainly show that Ṛṣika was contiguous to Āsmaka, Vidarbha and Anūpa (or Māhisaka).<sup>7</sup> The only country which answers to this geographical position is Khandesh; for it is bounded on the east by Berar (ancient Vidarbha), on the north by the Nemād district of the Central Provinces and parts of the Indore State (ancient Anūpa or Māhisaka) and on the south by the Aurangabad District (Ancient Āsmaka).

The rulers of Ṛṣika, Vidarbha and Āsmaka were thus holding the country round Ajantā. All the three dynasties have left us precious monuments in the shape of some magnificent caves at Ajantā.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rāmāyana*, (Nirṇayasāgar ed.), Kishkindā-kāṇḍa, v 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahābhārata*, (Chitraśālī Press ed.), Bhīsmaparvan, adhyāya 9, v 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Udyogaparvan, adhyāya 4, vv 18-19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Karṇaparvan, adhyāya 8, v 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Daśakumāracarita*, (Bom Sansk Series), p 138.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, pp 60 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Māhisaka was probably the country of which the capital was Māhismatī. It is well known that this city was also the capital of the Anūpa country. See *Raghuvamśa*, Canto VI, vv 37 and 43.

<sup>8</sup> Cave XVI which Messrs Fergusson and Burgess considered to be, 'in some respects most elegant' was caused to be excavated by a minister of the king Harisena who belonged to the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātaka dynasty. Cave XVII which now has more paintings than any other and the *gandhakufi* cave XIX which is most elaborately sculptured were caused to be made by a king of Ṛṣika as shown in this article. Finally, cave XXVI which also is an elaborately sculptured *gandhakufi* was executed by a Bhikṣu in honour of his friend Bhavvirāja who was a minister of an Āsmaka king.

ABHIMANYU-UPAKHYANA AND THE UNKNOWN  
EPISODE RE. ABHIMANYU'S PREVIOUS LIFE

BY

M. R. MAJUMDAR

The Mahābhārata has been studied from many points of view . linguistic, historical, geographical and metaphysical , and much learning has been brought to bear upon this great subject. It is also equally important to attempt to trace the growth and development of the legends and themes which have gone to the making of the great epic

If it were possible to sift out from the huge mass of Indian Epic poetry, as we now possess it in the various recensions of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana those old stories and legends which must have been living for a long time in the mouth of the people before they were collected, enlarged and dressed up by later hands, a rich mine of information would be opened for the ancient times of India

The various recensions of the text of Mahābhārata are usually those that are handed down to us with interpolations and additions which smell of local colouring and betray some sort of regional folklore

The object of this paper is to introduce the episode of Abhimanyu existing in the form of an *Upakhyāna* Though this cannot be traced to the original corpus of the Mahābhārata<sup>1</sup> it is however found to be widely current in Western India, especially in Gujarāta and Rajaputānā. So much so that a Sanskrit Ms of *Abhimanyu-Upakhyāna* has been traced from the Baroda Oriental Institute collection, extending to 20 *adhyāyas* with about 1100 *anustup* verses. ( No 9078 ).

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<sup>1</sup> "There is no reference to the story anywhere in the whole of the Mahābhārata No Ms of Droṇaparva shows any reference to the story in question Abhimanyu is consistently called Varcas, son of Soma and finally goes to his father".

From a letter dated 16-11-43 of Prof. P. K. Gode, Curator, B. O. R. I., Poona, in consultation with the Supervisor of the Mahābhārata Department.



The episode about Abhimanyu's previous birth as a demon is neither traceable to the original Dronaparva nor to the vernacular recensions of the Mahābhārata either in Marāṭhi, Hindi or Bengālī. However, it is successively referred to in Gujarātī *Ākhyānas* about Abhimanyu, from early 15th century A. D., down to the middle of the 19th century A. D. exactly identical with the Sanskrit upākhyāna.

Could the episode be ascribed to Jaimini's version of the Mahābhārata, which indulges in many additions of legends and folklore as is in evidence in his extant *Aśvamedhika Parva*? No other Parvas of the Mahābhārata by Jaimini have, however, been traced so far. The late D. B. K. H. Dhurva had mentioned to have come across a Ms. of *Svargārohana Parva* by Jaimini. If by chance, his *Drona Parva* were to come to light, we may expect to find some reference to the previous birth episode of Abhimanyu.

The episode owes its creation to a rare sense of poetic justice, as we feel at the end of the poem that after all, it was good that the demon in Abhimanyu after having been turned to good account by getting several leaders of the enemy's camp killed at his hands, ultimately was not allowed to live, grow strong and be a menace to the Pāṇḍava party.

While borrowing the plot of the main incident from the Mahābhārata, the author of the *Abhimanyu Upākhyāna* faithfully adheres to the dogma of incarnation and the Vaisnava cult inseparably worked up in the original. Agreeably to this, Viṣṇu born as Kṛṣṇa destroys the inimical Demon in open fight. His son Ayaḷocana, however, is not so fairly dealt with. Kṛṣṇa kills him, not in a battle. For that could free him from re-birth. But he was destined to fight, the unrighteous Kauravas, and work havoc among them as Abhimanyu. So the incarnate God plays the crafty man, and getting the giant into an adamant chest stifles him to death. The murdered Ayaḷocana is reborn as Kṛṣṇa's nephew. So the latter brings about his death secretly in a way known to him only.

The personality of Kṛṣṇa whether working openly or secretly, is always before us, throughout the poem, though it is less in evidence than that of Abhimanyu who is technically the hero. As a matter of fact, the only characters that interest us strongly

are Abhimanyu and Kṛṣṇa. Next to them come the princess Uttarā and queen Subhadrā.

The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas reveal Kṛṣṇa to us as a man, certainly not eminently good, but a crafty chief who is not overscrupulous in his choice of means for accomplishing his ends.<sup>1</sup>

According to Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, chapter 221, Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna by Subhadrā, was the Somaputra Varcas in his previous birth. From the day of his birth he was found to be dauntless, arousing fear in others, and of an irritable disposition.

“अभिश्च मन्वुमांश्चैव ततस्तममरिमर्दनम् । अभिमन्युरिति प्राद्वुराजनि पुरुषर्षभ ॥”

महा. आदि श्लोक ६७.

Brahmā had ordered all the Devas to be born in this world in Amsa form in order to free the earth from all fear. At that time Soma (the moon) while deputing his dearest son Varcas to this world had declared that he will not be able to brook the separation of his darling for a very long time. Accordingly he had stipulated that Varcas shall return after a life of 16 years only.<sup>2</sup> (Ādi, Adh. 67)

In the Mahābhārata fight, Drona had managed to engage Arjuna against the Samsaptaka force, in order that the other Pāṇḍavas can be defeated in no time. At this juncture, Drona manoeuvred the Kaurava forces in the celebrated Cakra-vyūha form. Yudhisthira was at his wits' end, as he could not find out a competent man to be in command, who could pierce through the Cakravyūha.

The gallant Abhimanyu came to his rescue, depending on all further help from the powerful Bhīma, as he knew only the way of ingress. Abhimanyu, however, boldly enough, created a breach in the hostile ranks, and gave a brave front to the veteran generals of the Kaurava forces, but in the heat of his onward

<sup>1</sup> Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics-Vol 7, pp 193-197, Prof. Jacobi's article on 'Incarnation (Indian)'

<sup>2</sup> "In the Mbh heroic genealogy, Varcas, part of Soma becomes Abhimanyu (lives 16 years, corresponding to the 16 days of the bright moon)" section on Soma in the "Epic Mythology" by E. W. Hopkins, p 91 (1915)

rush, Bhīma whose march was checked by Jayadratha had been led away from him. Thus Abhimanyu was left alone to his fate to fight single-handed against the galaxy of tried generals.

Abhimanyu, however, showed the excellent stuff he was made up of, but being fatigued and wounded, was slain by the son of Duhśāsana (Drona Adh. 34-39).

He was dearest both to Kṛṣṇa and to Balarāma. He left Uttarā, the daughter of Virāṭarāja with an embryo, who was born as Parikṣita the only living remnant of both the Kaurava and the Pāṇḍava families at the end of the Mahābhārata War.

The Mahābhārata narrative of Abhimanyu's worldly career, as noticed above in short, leaves one mourning at the sad lot of Abhimanyu, who met with rather an untimely though a glorious death under exasperating circumstances. One would have wished Bhīma to be beside him in his forward march, and helped him to get out successfully of the Cakravyūha at the end of the fight, during the absence of Arjuna, the most powerful of all the Pāṇḍavas. But as ill-luck could have it, Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā, Arjuna, and Uttarā were left in deep mourning by Abhimanyu.<sup>1</sup>

The unknown author of the independent poem-Upākhyāna has however, tacked his story on the original source of the incident<sup>1</sup> which occurs in the Drona Parva of the Mahābhārata, in order to arouse confidence and reverence for it in the heart of his readers. He has accordingly not preferred to call it an independent poem, but has arranged it in the usual form of a dialogic between the king Janamejaya, the grand-son of Abhimanyu and the sage Vaiṣampāyana.

The unknown author of the Upākhyāna occasionally mentions the river Sābhramatī (modern Sābarmatī) in the benedictory verses, which help us to locate the composition of the episode, somewhere in Central Gujarāṭa.<sup>2</sup>

The copy that is available to us is not even a century old, however, it must have been copied from some other original.

<sup>1</sup> "इति श्रीमहाभारते द्रोणपर्वणि अभिमन्युपाख्यानं नाम.... अध्यायः ।"

<sup>2</sup> "श्रीगणेश शिवदुर्गा दिवानाथ जनार्दन । सनकादीन्मुनीन्द्राश्च नत्वा वक्ष्ये कथानकम् ॥  
कृपया वषट्शस्य साधनमया प्रसादतः । मुकुन्दस्य च कृपया कुर्वेद्भारताश्रयम् ॥  
शिवमस्तु ममाग्रापि शिव वक्तुं सदा भवेत् । श्रोतुं शिबं सदा श्रूयान् सर्वेषां तु शिव भव ॥  
राधाकृष्ण! नमस्कृत्य अभिमन्युकथारस । धर्मार्थकामदं प्राक्त यथानुद्वया कर्मवहम् ॥"

Because it will be too much to imagine that somebody might have narrated the episode in Sanskrit from some Vernacular sources

The style of the Upākhyāna is simple, racy and very much reminiscent of the great epic<sup>2</sup> The introductory verses and the colophon may be given here by way of illustration —

“नारायण नमस्कृत्य नर चैव नरोत्तमम् । देवीं सरस्वतीं व्याम ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥  
सूत उवाच । व्यामशिष्य महाभाग वैशापानमेव च । पुजित सुखमासीनं पप्रच्छ  
जनमेजय ॥

श्री जनमेजय उवाच । मुने त्वया पुरा प्रोक्त विराटस्योत्तरां सुताम् । उपयेमेऽ-  
भिमन्युश्च योऽयं मम पितामह । जन्मकर्माखिल तस्य विवाह मुनिसत्तम ॥ चक्रव्यूह  
कथं ज्ञात तन्मे कथय सूत्रत ॥

वैशापान उवाच । “शृणु राजन् प्रवक्ष्येऽहं यथाधीतं यथाश्रुतम् ॥” पुष्पिका ।

The colophon of the *Mss* reads as follows :—

“यत्र सगीयते नित्य श्रीकृष्णस्तु पदे पदे । धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां प्रापक कृष्णकीर्तनम् ॥”  
इति श्रीमहाभारते द्रोणपर्वणि अभिमन्युपाख्याने भारतममुच्चयो नाम विंशोऽध्याय ।  
सं. १९०९ ना वर्षे शके १७७५ प्रवर्तमाने अषाढमासे शुक्लपक्षे ६ ने वार मंगल ।  
लिखित दवे वैकुण्ठराम रेवाशंकर स्वपठनार्थम् ।”

The contents of each of the twenty adhyāyas of the Upākhyāna can be gathered from the short titles given at the end<sup>3</sup>

The story, in brief, of the epilogue linking up the birth of Abhimanyu with his previous birth is as follows :—

Child Ayalocana while playing with little children was tormenting and beating them. One boy, being very much ill-treated one day gave him a taunt “Why do you torment us? If you are very strong, why not avenge your father’s death?”

At this, Ayalocana ran to his mother and entreated her to tell everything about his father and his ultimate end. The mother most unwillingly narrated how Visnu killed the boy’s father in an open fight, putting his capital to fire, at which she had to

<sup>2</sup> “अयलोचनप्रश्नः । अयलोचनवधः । अभिमन्युविवाहारम् । अभिमन्युद्वाहे कृष्णवाक्य । अभिमन्युद्वाहे वैगटमोह । वर्माचिता । अभिमन्युवाक्य । उत्तराशोके रत्नराजागमन । उत्तरानयन । उत्तरासर्गो । चक्रव्यूहभेद । अभिमन्यु-पराक्रम । अभिमन्यु-वध । अर्जुनविनाय । कौरवाचिता । जयद्रथविजयः । जयद्रथवधः । द्रोणवधः । कुरुक्षेत्र । भारत समुच्चयः ।

make good her escape to her father's house, when the boy was in her womb.

The posthumously born Ayalocana on hearing this, there and then took a vow to avenge his father's death. The mother dissuaded him from such a rash undertaking, as she said, hostilities with powerful Kṛṣṇa who had killed powerful Kamsa and Śiṣupāla, would be of no avail. The boy however, persisted, to whom the mother ultimately advised to appease God Śiva, who would bestow him with great prowess.

Ayalocana went to a solitary place, practised penance, and succeeded after six months in pleasing Śiva to grant a boon. When asked as to what this desire was, the boy begged of Śiva to be made immortal.

And Śiva would have granted him this boon, unwittingly, had Pārvatī not intervened. So Śiva checked himself and told him, "I know what is in your mind. You want to fight Viṣṇu. You will not be hurt by any weapon; and your death will happen without any thrust of a weapon."

Ayalocana jumped in joy at this boon, believing that he would not be defeated in any fight, and would meet death in the normal course.

Ayalocana got a big iron-clad chest prepared at the hands of Maya, the architect of the Daityas, who took six months to prepare it.

With that Vajra-pañjara (iron chest) Ayalocana started for Dvārakā to fight Kṛṣṇa and then seize him and stifle him to death by putting him in the chest.

Kṛṣṇa having known this, met the boy on way in the form of an old Brāhmana, crying. The boy, on inquiry was pleased to identify him as his family-preceptor, who was mourning the loss of his Yajamāna, the boy's father. The old man asked the boy, about his plans to avenge his father's death. The boy, being off his guard at the sympathising words of the old man, confided the whole thing to him and told him that the chest was meant for Kṛṣṇa.

The old man, then advised Ayalocana to ascertain if Kṛṣṇa would be contained in it. At this, the boy requested him further to tell the dimensions of Kṛṣṇa. The crafty old man assured him

that Kṛṣṇa was slender and tiny, and if the boy could get in the chest, then, Kṛṣṇa would surely be contained.

A trial of this was then suggested, and when Ayalocana got in the chest, Kṛṣṇa in the guise of the old man, shut the door tight, to the utter dismay and embarrassment of Ayalocana. When after many entreaties the old man would not open the door of the chest, Ayalocana felt that some fraud was being perpetrated on him. But, then, it was too late to mend.

Ayalocana made great efforts to break open the chest through sheer force. the chest was lifted to the sky and came down with a crash but to no effect. He was gasping for breath and was soon stifled to death.

Kṛṣṇa then arranged to carry the chest to his residence, and placed it secretly under Subhadrā's care. The wives of Śrī Kṛṣṇa out of sheer curiosity wanted the secret to be divulged as to the content of the chest. Subhadrā, who was then carrying, was prevailed upon by Satyabhāmā, Rukminī and others to open and to have a look at it for a while. When the door was opened, they were shocked to see a dead body with eyes and mouth wide open. But the ghost of Ayalocana that was hovering over the body got in through Subhadrā's mouth, planning great mischief to Kṛṣṇa through his sister Subhadrā.

After everything was arranged as before in the chest, and all had left, Subhadrā got such acute pain in the stomach that Kṛṣṇa had to be informed of it. Kṛṣṇa got the whole story about the opening of the chest, and was constrained to attribute the pain to that incident. The demon was seeking a chance to wreak his doubled vengeance.

The demon prevented the birth of the embryo, causing much pain.

Subhadrā had to be humoured in this predicament by telling her the story about the magical spiral array. Subhadrā felt a bit relieved by the narration and felt asleep, when the demon in the womb, wanting to know the complete secret about the ingress and egress of the Cakravayūha began to give a sound, showing that the story was followed by her. Kṛṣṇa noticing a change in the tone of the sound, found that Subhadrā was fast asleep and that the sound was coming from the womb.

Kṛṣṇa then cut short the narrative and left the place.

The demon then thought fit to be born, thereafter known as Abhimanyu, whose partial knowledge of breaking the spiral array was going to be of great help to the Pāṇḍavas' army in the absence of Arjuna.

Such is the interesting epilogue of the Abhimanyu-Upākhyāna which leads the reader to believe that it was after all well-destined by God that Abhimanyu could not survive the Mahābhārata war, because in that case, he would not have missed to wreak vengeance on Kṛṣṇa.

The story contained in the Sanskrit Upākhyāna, coming as it does from Western India, is very popular in Gujarātī literature. So much so that it has been handed down to us in succession, with slight additions. All the poets who have written about Abhimanyu-Dehala (early 15th century), Nakara (16th century), Tāpīdāsa (mid 17th century), Premānanda (late 17th century), Lappārāma (late 18th century) and Revāsunkara (late 19th century) have drawn upon the Sanskrit episode as their main stay,<sup>1</sup> the value of their individual performance varying with each poet's diction, fancy and imagination.

A remarkable quantity of Gujarātī folk-songs, ballads and dirges by unknown authors are also met with, dealing with one or the other incident, from the story, reminiscent of the Sanskrit original. These folk-songs are collected in an Appendix to my critical edition of Tāpīdāsa's "Abhimanyu-ākhyāna" published in 1925.

An attempt is made in the following paragraphs to give an idea as to how a classical Gujarātī author has treated the story. Premānanda's 'Abhimanyu Ākhyāna' is a heroic poem in 54 cantos. It opens with a very brief sketch by Vaiṣampayana relating to Janamejaya, how Abhimanyu was slain in his gallant attempt to break the so-called spiral array-*Cakravayūha* of the Kauravas. The royal listener could not understand why the Almighty Kṛṣṇa let his nephew die so sad and untimely a death.

This gives the poet an occasion to give at full length the account of the previous birth of Abhimanyu as Ahilocana (Ayalocana of the Sanskrit episode). The episode takes up cantos 2-13, and forms the most interesting section of the poem.

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<sup>1</sup> A comparative study of the story in the various Gujarātī versions, traceable to the Sanskrit Upākhyāna has been published by me as "Abhimanyu-pūrva-Kathā-anvesana" (December 1944).

Cantos 14-33 narrate the birth of Abhimanyu, his marriage with the Matsya princess Uttarā, and its consummation on the eve of the battle, arranged at a very short notice by fetching Uttarā on camel-back, leading to the birth of Pariksit.

Then comes the description charging the Kaurava army arrayed in the form of an intricate maze of seven curves. He successfully fought his way through six of them. But in his attempt to force the seventh curvilinear array he was overpowered and killed by six Kaurava leaders, nefariously conspiring to entrap him.

Cantos 34-45 are occupied with the narration of the gallant fighting. In the remaining cantos, the poet tells us how his death was bitterly avenged.

Such is the summary of the stirring narrative as utilised by Premānanda. It naturally divides itself into five parts. First comes the introduction. It is followed by the episode of *Ayalocana*. Then there is the intermediary section, bringing up the narrative to Abhimanyu's march to fight the Kauravas and his meeting with Uttarā. The succeeding section describes the combat of Abhimanyu and his death. The poem concludes with an account of the terrible retribution and revenge.

Of these five sections, the first is very cleverly executed. While preparing the audience for the episode of *Ayalocana*, it reminds us of the prelude (*Prastāvanā*) in the Sanskrit drama. One may even go further and say that it forms the key to the whole poem as conceived by the unknown author of this episode.

Though apparently Abhimanyu is made the hero of the *Ākhyāna*, behind him looms large the figure of Kṛṣṇa as God incarnate, directing the destinies of the world in the best interests of the righteous.

This second section is a prologue of the poem proper. But the story of *Ahilocana* is not a mere episode that can conveniently be dropped. The original author of this story, whoever he might have been, has artistically made it an integral part of the narrative.

The third section in Premānanda's poem, in spite of the many beautiful passages which it contains, is confessedly out of harmony with the prevailing *Vīra* sentiment which characterises the 2nd and 4th section. The celebration of the pregnancy of



Subhadra and the marriage of Abhimanyu are topics which the poet would have done well not to indulge in at great length.

The fourth section is more descriptive than dramatic. Had the poet unstintedly treated us with the spirited speeches of combatants rather than with the conventional commonplace description of the combatants, we should have as much relished them as we do Homer's.

The fifth section forms an epilogue to the poem, and as such it is necessarily brief.

Thus the prevalence of the traditional episode regarding Abhimanyu's previous birth in several Gujarātī versions from Western India deserves an intensive study. The discovery of this material is, also, likely to be useful at a time when the critical edition of the Drona Parva is yet to be taken on hand.<sup>1</sup> Its interest for the folklorist is also unforgettable.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr S. K. De who has undertaken to edit the Drona Parva, under the auspices of the Committee for the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, informs me that he has not so far come across this incident about Abhimanyu's previous birth in any of the MSS of the Drona Parva.

# NOMINAL STEM-FORMATION IN APABHRAṂŚA

BY

G V. TAGARE

[ Nominal Stem-formation in Indo-Aryan is practically a neglected field. It is especially so in the case of Middle Indo-Aryan in general and Apabhramśa in particular. Pischel and Geiger have mostly neglected this topic in their otherwise excellent grammars of Prakrits and Pali. From the type-script of Dr S M Katre's *Wilson Philological Lectures* (1941), it appears that the brilliant scholar had little time to deal with this subject in its MIA stage, in details, in his lecture on Nominal Stem-formation in I-A' (Lecture IV). Though the lecture is highly suggestive and supplies us with a valuable list of possible Pali and Prakrit developments of OIA stem-formants and though he illustrates these with reference to certain roots, we have no treatment of such formations as actually attested in this stage of IA.

In the introductory portion of the present paper, I have taken a brief review of the work done so far, in the field of Nominal Stem-formation in IA. In the body of the paper, I have dealt with such formants as are actually found in Ap. literature composed between 500-1200 A. D. In order to conserve space, I did not quote the exact context of each form unless it was absolutely necessary to do so. I indicated the venue of each form by designating it as WAp (Western Ap.), SAp (Southern Ap.), and EAp (Eastern Ap.). Roughly these regions correspond to the Śauraseni, Mahārāṣṭri, and Māgadhī regions in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. Thus SAp. includes the works of Puspadanta and Kanakāmara, EAp means the Dohākosas of Kāṇha and Saraha as edited by M. Shahidulla.

Many of the suffixes in this paper are found in other MIA dialects but they are included here because they are found in Ap. works and I wish to present the MIA development of these formants in general and that in the tertiary MIA in particular.

It is hoped that this humble spade-work will be of some interest and use to students of Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan.

—The Author ]

The study of Nominal Stem Formation in IA in general, and in MIA in particular, has not received adequate attention of scholars. We have a fine collection of material for the OIA period in W. D. Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar and Roots*, Renou's *Grammaire Sanscrite*, and Macdonell's *Sanskrit grammar*. Hjalmar Frisk deals with OIA suffixes -tha and -ra in their

Indo-European setting. We hope to get Prof. Wackernagel's work on this subject ( Nominal Stem Formation in OIA ) after close of this war, as his *Altindische Grammatik* II. it was in the press when the war was declared

In NIA Hoernle's *Gaudian Grammar* and S K Chatterji's *Origin and Development of Bengali* deal with this topic The present writer has undertaken the study of Nominal Formantia in Marathi in its IA setting as this topic is excluded by Prof J. Bloch in his masterpiece on Marathi, I mean *La Formation de la Langue marathe*

Unfortunately Geiger's *Pali Literatur und Sprache* and Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* give very meagre treatment of this Geiger gives a few suffixes connected with verbal nouns, while Pischel enumerates a few more -āla-, -ālu-, ulla-, -ulla-, as matup, -ira as a kṛt-suffix, --tt-, -ka-, -da-, -manta-, -vanta-, and -ima- ( See Grammatik, §§ 595-603 ) His treatment is sometimes defective. For example, -ālu- is represented in later OIA as in kṛp-ālu, sprhay-ālu, etc. and is probably connected with OIA -āru- in its MIA setting ( Cf OIA bhad-ra > \*bhad-la > MIA bhalla This -la treatment of OIA -ra is found in other cases also ) But Pischel does not take this into account I admit that Pischel was not writing a historical grammar of Nominal Formants in Prakrits This is exactly why a critical study of these formations in their historical perspective should be undertaken by some scholar. From the typescript of his *Wilson Philological Lectures* ( 1941 ) which Dr. S M Katre kindly lent to me, it appears that the brilliant scholar has tried to take a survey of the development of these suffixes in a masterly way His illuminating Lecture ( No. IV ) gives us sufficient guidance for further research But the subject is too vast to be compressed in a single lecture, and as he stops at the secondary MIA, I thought it better to limit myself to the tertiary MIA i e Apabhramsa and study the problem in its Time-Space context. As usual Ap suffixes are classified here as ( 1 ) the Primary and ( 2 ) the Secondary Most of the OIA suffixes e. g. -a ( technically known as ' ac, an, kañ ' etc ), -u( u, du ), -tra( stran ), -nu( knu ), and others became so much identified with the word in the late OIA period that OIA root suffix is

one word for the MIA speakers and there is no propriety in analysing Ap carisu(carisnu), jalahi(jaladhi), kisi(kṛsi) into cara-isu(isnu), jala-ha-i (technically called *li* in Sk grammar), kisa-i (known as *ik* in Sk grammar) I limit myself to important Ap Affixes.

### PRIMARY SUFFIXES

-a<OIA -ka 'agent or doer' e.g. WAp khavanaa(ksapanaka) 'a Jaina monk', SAp haphhaya(bāspa-lha-ka) 'a cātaka bird', EAp binua(vijñuka) 'knower'.

-ana<OIA -ana with or without pleonastic -ka to make Abstract Substantives e.g. WAp. vumpanaya(jampa=jalp 'to speak'), SAp khamcana(kars 'to draw') cf. M khēcane, WAp dāvana(dam-) 'a binding-rope' cf. H dāvan, M dāvan, Sdh. dāvanu, Pj dāu, Guj dāmnī, SAp khuntana(khunta=trut-), ghattana(ghatta, usually connected with Sk√ghṛs-),

-āra<OIA -kāra 'agent or doer' e.g. sonnāra(suvarna-kāra) 'gold-smith', sunāra(sūnī-kāra) 'one committing violence to lives', janeri(\*janaya-kari)? But this is generally equated with Sk. janayitrī 'mother', though the form does not explain -eri.

-iya(a)<OIA -in with svārthe -ka also OIA -ika 'action or agent' e.g. ullūriya(ullūra-ika) 'a baker'

-ira habit 'tācchīye' In his Introduction to Ap portion from Kumārapālpratilobha, Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf regards this as a suffix of the Present Part

WAp kandira(krand-), hallira(halla- 'to move'), bhamira(bhram-), kampira(kamp-), hasira(has-) etc. SAp thippira(stip-), cāvira(carv-) of M cāvaiā, himsira(himsa- 'to neigh'), hindira(hind-), icchira(icch-) No such form was found in EAp

-illa<OIA -ra or -la? 'Showing agent' e.g. SAp kanaila(kvan-) 'parrot'

-ga<OIA -ha 'agent, doer' e.g. WAp khama(va)ga(ksamaka=ksapaka) 'a Jaina monk', jāna-ga(jñāyaka) 'knower'.

-tāra<OIA -ti 'agent or doer' e.g. ahittāra(abhi-vak-tr), kattāra(kar-tr)

These forms are not strictly limited to Ap but are also met with in Prakrit literature.

## SECONDARY SUFFIXES

The following is the list of important secondary Suffixes. These are added to (1) Substantives to form Substantives, (2) Adjectives for forming Abstract Substantives, (3) Substantives to form Adjectives, (4) Adjectives to form Adjectives, (5) Verbs for forming Adjectives (6) Adverbs to form Adjectives. Lastly Ap. has a number of pleonastic suffixes, most of which are of Indo-Aryan origin though in the case of -ka some Dravidian influence is suspected and some of these may go back to the IE period.

In the following list of suffixes the powers of each suffix are indicated one after another. The classification of these formations as per above-mentioned powers is given at the end in order to present a synthetic view of the Stem-formations in Ap.

-a < OIA -ka pleonastic e.g. WAp būdha-a (vrddha-ka) Cf. H. budhā 'an old man', santāviya-a (santāpitaka) 'provoking anger', ahāna-a (abhānaka), SAp Joheya-a (Yaudheyaka) 'N of a country', bhadāra-a (bhattāraka) 'master, prince', EAp tuttīa-a (pp of tutta < trut) 'broken' bisaria-a (vismrtaka) 'forgotten' arabinda-a (aravindaka) 'a lotus' -a < OIA -ā feminine gender. It is sometimes substituted where normally OIA -ī is seen e.g. WSap -gattīa (-gātrikā = -gātrī), taruna (\* tarunā = o-nī)

-aya (a) < OIA -aka pleonastic. As a matter of fact it is ya < OIA -ka. e.g. accheraya (āścaryaka) 'a wonder', SAp trya, tiya (strī-ka), Nisiriya (Nihśrika)

-ara < OIA -kara added to Substantives for forming Adjectives meaning 'possessing, full of' e.g. SAp royara (rucikara) 'tasteful' in Mahāpurāṇa 17. 12 7

-āla < OIA -āla affixed to Substantives to form Adjectives in the sense of 'full of, possessing'. Very popular in SAp. and in Marathi. SAp khirāla (kṣīra -'milk'), dādāla (dānstrā -'a large tooth, fang'), haddāla (hadda -'a bone'), guvāla (guna -'quality'), sohāla (śobhā -'beauty' -ālu (ya) < OIA -alu, -aru. to Substantives to make Adjectives, chiefly in SAp e.g. saddhālu (śraddhā -'faith'), dayālu (dayā -'mercy'), tiṭhālu (trṣṭā -'thirst'). In these forms -ya is pleonastic -ka -ī < OIA -ī for the Feminine gender but used for the OIA -ā suffix

e. g. WAp. *paīthi* (*pravistā*), 'entered', -*va*dapi (*vaḍanā*), *samkudī* (*sankata*) 'beset with', SAp *Kampilli* (*Kāmpilya*) 'N of a town', *vayamsi* (*vayasyā*) 'a friend'

-*i(ya)* < OIA -*in* with pleonastic -*ka* 'possessing, having' used to form Adj. s from Nouns. SWAp *joiyo* (*yoga-in-ka*), *vairiya* (*vairin-ka*) 'an enemy', WAp *dehiya* (*dehika*) 'a being', *ahigāriya* (*adhikārin-*) 'an office-bearer, an official', SAp *annāriya* (*ajñānin-*) 'an ignorant person', *bandiya* (*bandin-ka*) 'a captive'

As a matter of fact these are cases of mere *svārtha* -*va* (-*ka*) added to OIA-*in*

This -*iya* is used to form Adj. s from Adj. s e. g. WAp. *parāiya* (*parakiya*) 'belonging to another', SAp *mahāiya* (*mahat-*) 'possessing greatness'.

-*itta* < OIA -*i-tra* or -*i-ti* 'having, possessing' applied to Nouns to make Adjectives e. g. *chadāitta* (*chanda-itra*) but interpreted as *chanda-vat* in WAp

-*ima* < OIA -*ima* To Adj. s to form Abstract nouns e. g. WAp *bhallima* (\**bhad-la-ima*) 'goodness', SAp *dhuttima* (*dhurta-*) 'cunningness', *Kārima* (*Kār-i-ma krtrima*)

-*na* < OIA -*na* See Frisk's monograph on -*ra* and Dr. S M Katre's *Wilson Philological Lectures*, (Lecture IV) 'possessing, having', forming Adj. s from Substantives e. g. SAp *surosiṛa* (*surosa-*) 'irritable, angry', *ānandira* (*ānanda-*) 'delighted'. It is also added to Verbs to make Adj. s e. g. WAp *hallira* (*halla-* 'to move') 'moving', SAp *icchirra* (*icch-*) 'desirous'. This is closely allied with the Primary Affix noted above. It forms Adj. s. from Adj. WAp *gaggira* (*gadgada*) 'faltering', SAp *lambira* (*lamba-*) 'long'

-*ila* < OIA -(i)lā? pleonastic e. g. WAp *samila* (*sama-*) 'equal', SAp. *aṭhiliya* (*astni-*) 'a bone', Cf. M. *āṭhli*

This Suffix is another form of pleonastic -*illa*

-*illa* < Allied with OIA -*ila*? Pertaining to, possessing, having' e. g. WAp. *chaila* (*chāyā-*) 'shadowy, possessing shadow or beauty' Cf. Hemacandra's Pk Grammar 8.4.412. also Pischel-Grammatik § 595 SAp. *kantilla* (*kānti-*) 'possessing good complexion, beautiful', *kadilla* (*kaṭi-*) 'a loin cloth', *uvarilla* (*upara-*) 'upper garment' Mar. 'upperne' -upper garment'

is traceable to Ap. uppariyana (uparitana) -illa is also used pleonastically e g WAp kudulla (kuti-) 'cottage', samilla (sama) equally.

-ulla -ullaya, -ulli (fem) MIA developments of OIA -ta<sup>2</sup> Pleonastic e g WAp kudulli (kuti-) 'a cottage', WSAp hira-ulla (hridava) 'heart', WAp kaunulla-da (karna-) 'an ear', vilalulla (vilola-) 'unsteady, rolling', SAp morulla-a (mayura-) 'a peacock', bahinulla (bhagini-) 'a sister', cidaulla (cataka-<sup>2</sup>) Cognate with 'cetaka'<sup>2</sup> madahulla (madaha-) 'small' *Deśi-nāma-mūlā* 6 117

-eva < OIA -tavya added to Verbs to form Adjectives of Potential Pass, Part e g vamevva (vañc-) 'to deceive', Jānevvi (jñā- 'to know') -da < OIA [-ta pleonastically. This is an important suffix as it forms difference between WAp and SAp texts, though all Prakrit grammarians sanctioned the use of pleonastic -da (fem, -di) and their combination with other svārtha suffixes. (See Purnasottama XVII 18-19, Siddha-Hema 8 4 429-32 Vālmiki sūtras 3 3 29-32 quoted by Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara and Simharāja, - the artificial combinations given by the last (XXII 4, 29, 33 34) should be ignored as they are not attested to in Ap literature-Rāmasarman III 4 6-7, Mārkaṇḍeya XVII 5-7.)

In this connection I may point out that pleonastic -du in Eastern Pk grammarians is not found elsewhere in actual Ap literature beyond the instances given by the grammarians themselves viz rukka-du (\*rukṣa and not vrkṣa. See Louis (Ray-JAOS 60), tarunidu (taruni-, bhūmi-du (bhūmi), vana-du (vana-)

Prof Alsdorf regards -da as 'a classical Ap' suffix (Intro. to *Kumārāpūṭa-pratibodha* (§19) The *Śrāvaka-dharma-dohā* uses it outstandingly as compared with Jōindu's works. I may give here a few instances of this VAp rukka-da (\*rukṣa-) 'a tree', bhittadi (bhitta- 'to visit') *Sāksātkāra*. Cf. H M-bhet, hira-da (hridaya) 'heart', vakkhānada (vyākhyā-na)

It is not so much current in SEAp though SAp 'manchudu (mankṣu) ukkaru-da (utkara-) 'a dunghill' Cf. M ukirdā EAp khara-da (khara-) Even today -da is abundantly used in Marwari and other dialects of that region.

-*ta* to Adverbs to form Adjectives e. g. WAp *ettadava* (*iyat*), *tēttāda*, *tittaāam* (*tāwan-mātra*), EAp *evadu* (*etāvat*)  
 -*dda* < OIA -*\*dra* WSAp *tevadda* (*tayavādra* = *tāvat*) Cf M  
*tevalhā*, *evadda* (*\*ayavadra* = *ivat*) Cf M. *evadhā*

-*ni* < OIA -*ni* a feminine suffix WAp *sahuni* (*sādhū-*) a  
 female saint SAp *Candā-ni* (*Candra-*) 'wife of Candra' on the  
 analogy of *Indrāni*, *hālini* (*hala-* 'a plough') 'a peasant woman'.  
 WSEAp *joini* (*yogini*) a tbh -*tti* < OIA -*va* WAp *mantri-tta*  
 'ministriva' 'ministership', EAp *sallatta* (*s'alya-tva*), WSAp  
*naratta* 'pride' connected with OIA *mada-* with -*ra-* glide?  
*ttana* < OIA -*ttana* applied to Substantives to make Abstract  
 nouns, WSAp *manuja-ttana* (*manuja-*) 'manhood, the stage of  
 being a man', similarly *siddha-ttana* (*siddha-*), *deva-ttana*  
 (*deva-*) etc

Both the above-mentioned suffixes are used with Adjectives to  
 form Abstract substantives WAp *bahutta* (*bahu-*), *cavala-*  
*ttana* (*capala-*) 'activeness', SAp *pharusa-ttana* (*parusa-*)  
 'harshness' *thaddha-ttana* (*stabdha*) 'dullness', EAp *tisr-*  
*ttana* (*arsita-*) 'thirstiness', *ittiya* < OIA -*tya* added to Adverbs  
 to form Adjectives e. g. *ettiya* (*\*ayatya*) generally equated with  
 OIA *iyat*, similarly *kettuu*, *kittin* (*\*kayattya*) See Pischel  
 Grammatik § 153

-*ttula* to make Adjectives from Adverbs e. g. *ettula* (*etāvat*),  
*kettula* (*kiyat*), *jettula* (*yāvat*), *tittula* (*tāvat*)

-*ppa*, -*ppana* < OIA -*tta*, -*ttana* another development -*tti*,  
 -*ttana* noted above Both of these are applied to Adjectives and  
 Substantives to make Abstract Nouns, e. g. *vaddattana* and *vad-*  
*dappana* mean the same viz. bigness In NIA -*ppana* is current  
 as -*pan*, -*pan*, -*panā*

-*mai* < OIA -*matī* the last members of fem. proper names  
 e. g. *Sirī-mai* (*Srīmatī*), *Dhanamai* (*Dhanamatī*), *Kanayamai*  
 (*Kanakamatī*).

-*ya* < OIA -*ka* pleonastic It is found as -*a*, *ya*, -*aya*, *iya*,  
 -*uya* also It is directly applied to words or is used in combi-  
 nation with other pleonastic affixes in their different forms  
 Most of these being noted above are not repeated here



-va < OIA -vat-mat an ordinary MIA development e.g. Hanu-va (Hanu-mat), candakava (candraka-vat).

-vaṇḍa < OIA \*vṇḍa added to Substantives to make Substantives e.g. balivanda 'might, force' in SAp balivandae dharantaho suravaihim 'in spite of the mighty efforts of the King of gods to hold it up' (Nāga-kumāra-carita 8. 3. 2.). Is there some Dravidian influence on this rarely found suffix?

-vanta < OIA -vat 'possessing, having' An Adjectival suffix too common in MIA to need any elaboration

-vi(ya) < OIA -vin. e.g. māyāviya (māyāvin) In fact it is a normal MIA change + svārthe-ya.

-ra? pleonastic e.g. kappa-ra (kalpa-) 'to cut' is madapphara 'pride' a contamination of mada + darpa-ra?

-rina? Not very productive It is used as a suffix of Abstract nouns in SAp tila-rina (tilatva) 'oily'

-rimu in kārima (kr̥trima) artificial, is really -rima and the real derivation appears to be kār-ima (kr̥- 'to do') though usually it is equated with OIA kr̥trima in sense

-riśa < OIA -dṛśa applied to Adverbs to make Adjectives e.g. erisa (idr̥śa), kerisa (kidr̥śa) and such others

-la, -li (fein) < OIA -ta pleonastically It is different from -āla -ālu, -illa, -ulla connected with OIA -ra or -la It was much productive in Ap. of all regions WSAp potta-li (potta- 'stomach'), Cf M. H. potali, andhalaya (andha-) 'blind', Cf M. andhalā SAp navalla (nava-) 'new, novel', Cf M. naval 'a marvellous thing', EAp naggala (nagna-) 'a naked man'

-(e) ḥa u < MIA -isa < OIA -dṛśa applied to Adverbs to form Adjectives e.g. jehau (yādr̥śa), tehau (tādr̥śa), kehau (kidr̥śa) etc See Pischel- Grammatik § 262

This list of secondary suffixes is neither exhaustive nor it is limited exclusively to Ap. Many of the above-mentioned suffixes appear in other MIA dialects also. These are designated as Ap. as they are gleaned from purely Ap. sources. Ap. is after all a stage of MIA and it is inevitable that it should share many

suffixes found in other MIA dialects I did not exclude these common elements as a treatment of MIA Nominal Stem-formants as actually attested in literature, is a desideratum today.

The following table of Secondary suffixes in Ap gives their classification according to their powers

(1) Suffixes added to Substantives to form Substantives -tta, -ttana, -ppa, -ppana, -mai, -rina?, vanda

(2) Suffixes applied to Adjectives for forming Abstract Substantives -ima, -tta, -ttana, -ppana

(3) Suffixes added to Substantives for forming Adjectives -ara, -āla, -ālu (va), -i (ya), -itta, -illa, -ira, -va, -vanta -vi (ya)

(4) Suffixes added to Adjectives to form Adjectives -iya, -ra, -era

(5) Suffixes for forming Adjectives from Verbs -ira, -avva, -rima?

(6) Suffixes added to Adverbs to form Adjectives -(a) da, (a) dda, -ttia (ya), -ttula, -risa, -ha (u)

(7) Pleonastic Suffixes -a, --ya, --aya, -iya, --uya, kka (rarely as in guru -kkī <guru-), --dā, di and not --du though sanctioned by Eastern Pk grammars -la, -li, -āla, -ālu, illa, ulla, and different combinations of the chief pleonastic suffixes ka, da, la. In Ap -ra is rare

(8) Feminine Suffixes ā, ī, nī

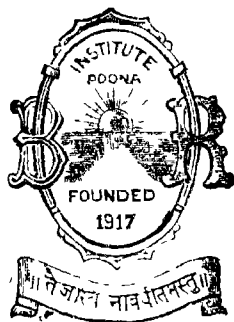
I hope that this paper will be of some use to students of MIA and NIA though a complete survey of MIA Nominal Stem-formants as found in Inscriptional Prakrits, religious pkts. e g. Pali and Ardhamāgadhī, literary Prakrits, and epic Sanskrit of Hindu, Jaina, and Buddhist writers, is a desideratum today

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( 4 ) The Holy Gītā, edited with an Intro-  
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suffixes found in other MIA dialects. I did not exclude these common elements as a treatment of MIA Nominal Stem-formants as actually attested in literature, is a desideratum today.

The following table of Secondary suffixes in Ap gives their classification according to their powers

(1) Suffixes added to Substantives to form Substantives -tta, -ttana, -ppa, -ppana, -mai, -rina?, vanda

(2) Suffixes applied to Adjectives for forming Abstract Substantives -ima, -tta, -ttana, -ppana

(3) Suffixes added to Substantives for forming Adjectives -ara, -āla, -ālu (ya), -i (ya) -itta, -illa, -ira, -va, -vanta -vi (ya).

(4) Suffixes added to Adjectives to form Adjectives -iya, ra, -era

(5) Suffixes for forming Adjectives from Verbs -ira, -evva, -rima?

(6) Suffixes added to Adverbs to form Adjectives -(a) da, (a) dda, -ttia (ya), -ttula, -risa, -ha (u)

(7) Pleonastic Suffixes - a, --ya, --aya, --iya, --uya, kka (rarely as in guru -kka <guru-), --dā, dī and not --du though sanctioned by Eastern Pk grammars -la, -li, -āla, -ālu, illa, ulla, and different combinations of the chief pleonastic suffixes ka, da, la. In Ap. -ra is rare

(8) Feminine Suffixes - ā, ī, nī

I hope that this paper will be of some use to students of MIA and NIA though a complete survey of MIA Nominal Stem-formants as found in Inscriptional Prakrits, religious pkts. e g Pali and Ardhamāgadhī, literary Prakrits, and epic Sanskrit of Hindu, Jaina, and Buddhist writers, is a desideratum today

# EPISODICAL VARIANTS IN THE MARATHI VERSIONS OF ĀDI PARVAN AS COMPARED WITH THE CRITICAL TEXT

By

M. G. PANSIK

Not less than a score of Marāṭhi poets have tried their hand at rendering the Mahābhārata into Marāṭhi since the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Saka Era. But only a few of these versions have been handed down to us in their completed form. It seems from the information available that the versions of Viṣṇudāsa Nāma, Mādhava and Moropanta<sup>1</sup> are the only works that are complete. Only a few Parvans are available of the rest. Among those who have given us Marāṭhi versions, Mukteśvara is commonly regarded as the best and most widely known and studied than anybody else.<sup>2</sup> The Mahābhārata of Viṣṇudāsa Nāma was almost consigned to oblivion because he had joined the Manānubhāva Sect after finishing his Mahābhārata and as the Sect was looked upon with disfavour by the general public, his work, though the biggest of the lot in size, did not become popular. Mādhava wrote his work on the banks of the Kāveri near Tanjore and being far away from Mahārāstra his work was not much known in this part of the country.<sup>3</sup>

Viṣṇudāsa Nāma was a contemporary of Ekanātha, the grandfather of Mukteśvara. Mr P. M. Chandorkar records a Ms. of Ādi parvan of Viṣṇudāsa Nāma which he got in the

<sup>1</sup> The version of Moropant though complete is only an abridgement of the Great Epic, and to speak of the Ādi parvan alone, it may be pointed out that it has only 2459 verses in the Marāṭhi version as compared with the 7190 verses in the Sanskrit original even of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata.

<sup>2</sup> Whether Mukteśvara wrote all the eighteen parvans or not is a question which is yet undecided. It is, however, true that only five parvans of Mukteśvara are available, namely Ādi, Sabhā, Vana, Virāṭa and Sauptika.

<sup>3</sup> Mahābhārata Śārasvata, p. 294.

Erandol Talukā.<sup>1</sup> The colophon of the Ms says that it was completed on Thursday, the eleventh day of Srāvana, Śaka 1532 (1610 A D) Sāthārana Samvatsara. He remarks that Visrudāsa Nāmā finished his Ādiparvan in Śaka 1531 (1609 A D) which is the date assigned to the birth of Muktesvara by Mr V L Bhave.<sup>2</sup> Muktesvara completed his Sabhāparvan in 1557-8 Śaka (1635-6 A D) so he must have evidently written his Ādiparvan before that. The teacher of Visrudāsa Nāmā was one Cintāmani by name and Muktesvara inherited all his literary gifts from Ekānātha, his grandfather. Mādhava also was the grandson of Ekānātha by his daughter named Umā.<sup>3</sup> Bhīma Svāmī, the grand teacher of Mādhava, migrated to Panjore in the South in 1597 Śaka (1675 A D) with his two disciples Ananta and Rāghava. Ananta's disciple was Meṇu and Rāghava's disciple was Mādhava. All these were Rāmadāsī.<sup>4</sup> Mādhava finished his Ādiparvan in 1625 Śaka (1703 A D), Subhānu nāma Samvatsara.<sup>5</sup> So, if we place them chronologically Visrudāsa Nāmā stands first, then comes Muktesvara and Mādhava comes last.

It will be worthwhile to compare the three Marāṭhi versions of the Mahābhārata by these three authors, restricting the comparison to the Critical Text of the Ādiparvan published by the B O R I and to find out, if possible, the Sanskrit originals used by these authors with the help of the critical apparatus given in this edition.

For the Ādiparvan of Muktesvara, the printed text edited by Vāmana Dāji Oka has been used. For the rest, two old Mss from the Sarasvathī Mahal, Palace Library, Tanjore, have been selected.

- (1) Ādiparvan-author Visrudāsa Nāmā, Serial No 1386 अत 63.  
Adhvāyas 40-68. The first 39 adhvāyas are not available.)  
Folios 186. Ori. 3906

<sup>1</sup> Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhak, Mandala, 12, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Mahārāstra Śārasvata, p 186.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 294.

<sup>4</sup> South Indian Mahārāṣṭrians, p 15a.

<sup>5</sup> Rāmadāsī Rāmadāsī, 14, 281.

<sup>6</sup> Mahārāstra Śārasvata p 297.

Size  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$ , lines per folio 12, letters in a line 25.

Some chapters begin with श्रीमंगळस्तुतियेनम and end with श्री-  
मोक्षदासीबायेनम whereas some other chapters begin with  
श्रीसांबसदासीबायेनम and end with श्रीमंगळस्तुतियेनम

The date is not given in the colophon

Colophon: येथुनी हे संपूर्ण जाळे आदिपर्व । येथुनी पुढे जाणा सभापर्व ।  
पवीत्र पुरुषार्थी पांडव । ते कथा परीयेसी राया ॥ ५९ ॥ येथुनी संपूर्ण जाळा  
ग्रंथ । प्रीती पावो श्रीकृष्णनाथ । जे अंकती यकचीसं । ते भवमागर तरती  
॥ १६० ॥ हा ग्रंथ जे अंकती त्याचे सर्व दोष वीळया जाती । श्रोते बक्षे  
उत्परीती । आणी पुर्वज बेताळीम ॥ १६१ ॥ ऐसी पुण्यपावन कथा । जम्भोजया  
होय परीसता । सांगा पुढील पर्वीची कथा । वीष्णुदास नामया ॥ १६२ ॥ नामा  
म्हणे वीष्णुदास । सांगे पारामुराचा व्याम । ते श्रोते देउनी अवकाश । कथा पेका  
भावारथी ॥ १६३ ॥

इंती श्रीमन्माहाभारथे आदीपर्वे अष्टाष्टीतीतमोध्यायः ॥ अध्या ॥ ६८ ॥  
अष्टाष्ट्यावायेवं आदिपर्व संपूर्णमस्तु ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणार्पणमस्तु । शुभमस्तु  
कल्याणमस्तु ॥ ६९ ॥ ॥ श्री श्री ॥

The hand-writing of the scribe is very bad and there are  
mistakes of spelling and grammar

(1) Ādiparvan — Author Mādhavaśvāmī Serial No 1196  
अरा 4

Adhyāyas — 1-80, Folios 303, Ovis 6145 Folios 1 and 2 give  
a table of contents in prose.

Size -  $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ , lines per-folio 11, letters in a line 38

Date: beginning अश्विनवा ३ शुभाशु नाम संवत्सर शके १६२५ Com-  
pletion मार्गशीर्ष वा ५ „ „ „ „ Place of writing The  
temple of Rāma on the left bank of Kāveri between Gauri  
Māyora and Trivindoor (Trivendrum?)

Scribes Adhyāyas 1-61 — Sanjeevarao Mohapat, Adhyāyas  
62-80 — Bhujañgācāre Muddiyā Every chapter begins with  
॥ श्री रामकर्ता ॥

The hand-writing is very good, thick and pressed from  
above

This Ms is presented by Sarabhoji to his son-in-law Rāma-  
śvāmī Mohite in Śaka 1746 (1824 A. D )<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Ms means not only that of the Ādiparvan but of the complete  
Mahābhārata of which this Ādiparvan is a part

श्रीमन्तंजपुरीचा राजा जो शरभ सर्व वाखाणी ।  
 रामस्वामी मोहिते त्याचा जामात गुणखाणी ॥ १ ॥  
 शालीवाह शकाच्या गणितें पाहतां बहूत नेमानें ।  
 सतराशे शेताळीस वर्षे गेली नराच्या माने ॥ २ ॥  
 तारण वर्षीं श्वशुरे भारत नामा त्या दिला ग्रंथ ।  
 जेसे जनकें आंदण दिपलें रामा गजाश्वपत्तिरथ ॥ ३ ॥

If we compare these versions with the Critical Edition and study the additions, the omissions and other variations it is possible to ascertain from the information available in the Critical apparatus which of the manuscript traditions is followed by these poets and with what particular Ms these versions could be identified

For his Critical Edition, Dr Sukthankar has collated about fifty Mss. of the Ādi from the available stock. The Mss material is divided into recensions (1) Northern and (11) Southern. They are again divided into a number of sub-recensions corresponding to different provincial scripts in which these texts are written. The Northern recension is sub-divided into

(a) North-Western group with Śāradā (S) script and Devanāgarī allied to Śāradā or Kāśmīrī (K) and

(b) Central group having Nepālī (N) Maithilī (V), Bengālī (B), and Devanāgarī version other than K (D) versions of Arjuna Miśra (Da) Nilakantha (Dn) Ratnagarbha (Dr) and Composite version of Devanāgarī (D) Southern recension has Telugu (T), Grantha (G) and Malyālam (M) <sup>1</sup>

If the Ādi parvan of Muktesvara is read side by side with the critical text it will be seen that some of the variant passages are found either in the critical apparatus or in Appendix I. There are not less than three chapters in Muktesvara each of which is entirely to be traced in App I as also many verses at the end of the 14th chapter

<sup>1</sup> Letters in the brackets indicate the abbreviations used in the critical apparatus

Prolegomena, pp V-IX

5 [ Annals, B. O. R. I. ]



<i>MK.</i>	<i>App I</i>	<i>Mss in agreement</i>
14	41	K3-4, N2-3, V1, B, D
	42	K3-4, N, V1, B, D.
	43	K4, N, V1, B, D.
32	78	Da1, D5, S, K4, Dn, D2-4
	79 1-10	K4, D4-5, S
33	80	N, V1, B Da, Dn, D1-2, K4, D4-5, S.
	81 1-9	K4, N V1, B, D, M5-8, T, G-
44	103	K1, D1, S

If the *Mss* agreeing with the text of *MK* are further analysed we find that *Mss* K4 and D agree in 8 cases while *Mss* N and B do so in 5 cases. In addition to these some verbal changes will be found mentioned in the critical apparatus

<i>MK</i>	<i>Or. Ed. footnote No</i>	<i>Mss in agreement</i>
28 <sup>a</sup> अशाक	116 3 1246	N2 B5-6, Da, D4-5, S, K4
28 <sup>b</sup> कृषक	1247	K4, N2, Da, D1
41.36 <sup>a</sup> सुचित्र	177 <sup>9</sup>	Ko3.4, N, V1, B15, Dn, D1 4-5 M3 5
41 37 <sup>b</sup> विष्णुद	177 11	K1, N2-3, V1, Dn, D1
47 42 <sup>b</sup> प्रमजन	207 17	K ( except K1 ), N2, Dn, D4, M3

On analysing these we find that *Ms* K4 occurs in all the 5 cases, N2 in 5 and D4 in 4. Some passages incorporated in the text of Muktesvara but not found in the critical text could be seen running parallel to those in Appendix I

<i>MK</i>	<i>App I</i>	<i>Mss in agreement</i>
26.1-9	61	K4, N, B, D
26.70-74	63	All <i>Mss</i> except S1, Ko 3
29 102-161	72	K4, N, B, D
36.109	85	K4, N, V1, B, D, M, T, G
49 1-46	118	N, ( S1, Ko. 1-4 ) * <sup>1</sup>
49 85-95	119	Ko4, D4-5.

Here we find *Ms*. K4 repeated 6 times, N & D 5 times and B 4 times. The table below shows some minor agreements in Muktesvara with the variants given in the critical apparatus

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p 11.

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Cr. Ed footnote No</i>	<i>Mss in agreement</i>
7.99-102	37 26 402	K3-4, N, V1, B, D, T1, G,
12.39-42	53 22 463	Ko4, N, V1, B, D, K2-3.
15.104	65 7 589	Ko4, Da1, S
16.26-27	67 6 605	K4, D4, S
18.135	76 35 791	Ko4, Dn, D4 5
19.132	80 9 840 <sup>1</sup>	Ko4, Dn, D2-4.
19.143	80 25 851	Ko4, D1-4
24.13	98 5 1035	K3-4, N2, B, D, T2
24.19-20	98 13 1036	K3-4, N2, B, D.
24.24	98 17 1038	K4, B1.5-6, Da, D2-5.
24.43	99 5 1045	Ko3-4, Da1, D1-4.
25.20	101.16 1096	K3-4, N, D, S.
25.27	101 24 1099	K4, N2, D4.
26.65 <sup>cd</sup>	107 11	S1, K, Da1, D4.5
30.26.36	121 2 1330	K4, N, B, D
36.38	121 2 1331	K4, N, B, D, S
132-135	122 38 1377	K4, N, B, D, T2, G1-2.4-5.
35.38	133.18 1458	K4, N, V1, B, Da, D1 2-4, T1, Dn.
36.39	135 9 1477	K4, N, V1, B, D, T1.
38.105	152 19 1673 <sup>ab</sup>	K2.4.
40.92	166 15 1781	K4, D5
41.49-55	178 15 1824	K3-4, N, V1, B, D
"	1827	K4, N2, Dn, D2-4,5
41.63	179 13 1841 <sup>ab</sup>	K, N1 2, D.
41.70	179 15 1846	K4, N2-3, V1, B, D
46.52 <sup>b</sup>	201 3 2000	K4, N2-3, V1, B, D.

Looking to the table above we see that the Ms K4 agrees in 26 cases, D in 24, N in 16 and B in 13. Thus Mss N, B, D and K4 could be recorded as more common in the majority of cases. It is peculiar to note that K4 is present in every instance and if we add all our findings it will be seen that in 45 cases K4 is present in 45, D in 41, N in 31 and B in 22. From this data we are inclined to fix K4 to be the Ms. belonging to the same tradition as the Sanskrit original before Mukteśvara. The following unique instances to be found in K4 alone lend further support to the conclusion arrived at

<i>MK.</i>		<i>Cr. Ed</i>	<i>Mss in agreement</i>
4.97-100	Nilakantha episode	App I 10	K4
10.39 <sup>c</sup>		46.41.433	"
28.9	अमर सुंकारीती	116. 3. 1248	"

Ms K4 that has been chosen for the critical text gives Śaka 1616<sup>1</sup> as its date and Mukteśvara wrote his Ādi parvan before Śaka 1557. So it is quite probable that Mukteśvara had before him a text of which Ms. K4 must be a copy. Or in other words, the text before Mukteśvara and the copyist of the Ms K4 of the critical text are of the same family, the former being the older of the two.

For want of sufficient space at our disposal it is not possible to give all the passages from Mādhava's version showing its agreements with the critical text in order to fix up the Sanskrit Ms. before him and hence some proper names alone have been taken up for consideration.

<i>Mādhava</i>	<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Mss in agreement</i>
Adh 22 22,34	52 5-17	
शल	" "	N2, V1, B1 4. 5, Da, Dn, D1-4. 6. 7.
पाल	" "	N, V1, B, Da, Dn, D1-4 6. 7, M1 4. 5
हलिमक	" "	K2 4, N, V1, B3-5, D, M4.
कालवेग	" "	B3-5, D
पिच्छक	" "	B1-3, Da.
हिरण्यबाहु	" "	K3, N3, V1, B4-5, D, G1
कक्षण	" "	कक्षण Ko 24
पिण्डसेक	" "	N, V1, B, Da, Dn, D1-3 7
उत्सिक	" "	Da उत्सिक, B1, 4-5, D2 3, 6 7, G.
खड्ग	" "	B1, D4.
सुरोमामहाहृ	" "	N2, B, D.
सहतापन	" "	N2, B1 5, Dn, D7
शृंगवेर	" "	N3, V1, B1. 3 5, Dn, D1-4 7.
प्रांतरांतक	" "	B5
पिटरमुख	" "	N2, V1, B, Da, Dn, D1. 3 7.
प्रहास	" "	N1 2, B, D
अमाहठ	" "	N1-2, V1, B1 3 5, Da, Dn.
		D3 4 6 7
सुषेण	" "	K4, N1. 2, D
मानसव्यय	" "	V1, B, Da, Dn, D1 3 4 6 7
सचित्र	" "	G1, M3
चित्रवेगी	" "	N2, B3, Da, Dn, D1. 3 4 6, 7.
इराधान	" "	D4, S
अंगवेग पौंड etc	" "	K3 4, B, D

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, p. XII.

In the above table Ms. D4 has 15 agreements and Mss B1 and D1 each 14 agreements in 23 cases mentioned above. As Mādhava belonged to the south it may be taken for granted that he must presumably have before him Ms. D4 at the time of writing his version. In other words, Mādhava had before him a Ms. of a family to which belongs D4 of the critical text.<sup>1</sup>

The version of *Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā* does not seem to have any particular Sanskrit Ms. in view. Generally speaking it has the same thread of narration so far as the story of the Mbh. is concerned but it can not be read side by side with the critical text because of its enormous episodical additions to be traced elsewhere and abrupt omissions of many episodes without any apparent justification. There are many arbitrary changes which are responsible for a good deal of confusion. In the course of narration *Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā* sometimes changes the sequence of events in some of the episodes.

The version of Mādhava does not very much differ from the text given in the Critical Edition. The minor changes to be seen here and there are due to the fact that it is only an adaptation and not a word to word translation of the original text before him. We have fixed D4 to be the Ms. before Mādhava. Dr. Sukthankar places Mss. D2 and D5 akin to K3-6 and he classes them together with advantage. But he says "D4 contains notably large additions from Southern Mss., additions which are either entered on the margin or, when the marginal space does not suffice written on supplementary folios."<sup>2</sup> May be, that it must have been influenced by popular recensions of the land where it was preserved. Mādhava also belonged to the South and hence he must have been faithful even to the marginal additions which were probably popular then. The *Ādiparvan* of Mādhava when read side by side with that of Mukteśvara the stream of their stories is seen to run parallel and even in minor details they differ only where their Sanskrit texts differ. Whatever other differences we see between the two they are due mainly to their different styles.

<sup>1</sup> The date of composition of the Mbh. of Mādhava is Śaka 1625 where as that of the Ms. D4 of the critical edition is not given.

<sup>2</sup> Prolegomena, p. LXXI

The texts before them also do not fundamentally differ except in some detailed account. This observation is supported by the fact that the Ms before both of them, though of different classes, have got the same influence of the Southern Ms. Like D4, K4 also is a Ms that is dominated by some extracts from the Southern Ms.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, looking to the table, that is prepared to fix the Ms before Mukteśvara we find that Ms D4 is there with Ms. K4 in 38 places, out of 45 which obviously proves that D4 and K4 are akin to each other.

The additions on the margin of the text can also be traced through some passages that are incorporated in the very body of the Marāṭhī version of Mukteśvara. It is noteworthy that when these passages are compared with the critical apparatus Ms. K4 is absent in the list which shows that these passages must be added on in Ms. K4.

<i>Muktesvara</i>	<i>Cr. Texts</i>	<i>Ms in agreement</i>
23.109-111	96 6.998	N2, V1, D4, S.
25.133-143	App I 59	D4
25.156-174	App I. 60	D4-5, S
30.73-79	App I. 75	S1, K0-3.
45.116-124	App I. 107	D4, S
45.129-130, 140	199 24.1985	D4, S.
45.147-156	199 36 1991	D4.

Here we clearly see the influence of D4 and S which are the representatives of the Southern recensions. This apparently shows that Mukteśvara, without caring to eliminate the extra matter, has taken the text as it was and blended it into a homogeneous whole.

All the passages in the Mukteśvara version which show the marginal additions and also those cited previously for fixing the Ms. before him may be regarded as additions if the critical text only is considered leaving aside the critical apparatus because none of them occurs in the text itself. There are many more additions found for which Mukteśvara alone is responsible. Such additions are of four kinds

- (i) Social teaching.
- (ii) Descriptions.
- (iii) Lists.
- (iv) Miscellaneous accretions.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., XCV.

## (1) Social Teaching

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Cr. Text (approximately)</i>
4.62-66	Cooperate with anybody to achieve a noble cause	15
5.38-44	Devotion to Viṣṇu	20.15
7.120-133	Plight in isolation	37.26
8.69-76	Results of curse by a Brahman	40
9.49-57	Addition to sensual pleasure	41
11.22-28	Truth always prevails	48.15
16.92-105	Restrictions on a woman of noble birth	68.11
18.48-53	A bitter word spoils everything	73.31

Muktesvara, like all the other poet-saints, does not lose an opportunity to sermonize on the moral behaviour in this world. Muktesvara himself being a householder preaches the ideals of a householder's life. Such passages do not distinctly stand out nor can they be recognised at once because they are put into the mouths of some of the characters in keeping with their turn of thought and circumstance. For instance, when Indra goes to Saṃkara for advice at the time of churning the ocean the latter advises him that under such circumstances one should come down from one's high level to effect a compromise for the achievement of a noble cause. Similarly, when people prayed Garuḍa, by whose brilliance they were dazzled, Garuḍa assured them that he would not hurt them if they were devoted to Lord Viṣṇu. When Kanva thinks of sending Sakuntalā along with her son to Duśyanta he speaks out his thoughts before his disciples and here he expatiates on the social restrictions on a woman born in a noble family.

In Mādhava we do not find such passages inserted in his text. He is a faithful narrator never digressing from the text before him except in one or two cases.

## (ii) Descriptions.

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Cr. Text (approximately)</i>
10.64-114	Scene of Serpent Sacrifice	47.19-25
13.11-20	Vaiśampāyana and his audience	54
19.42	Old age	78.17
19.116-136	King and Society of the day	78.36
28.12-24	Mādrī's union with Pāṇdu	116.13

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Cr. Text (approximately)</i>
29	Garden party and poisoning of Bhīma	
36 54-61	Dark night	136
36,69-82	Morning	136
41	Svayamvara Mandapa	175

These descriptions together with those of battles between Gods and Garuda, Bhīma and the princes for Ambā and Ambālikā, Drupada and the Pāṇḍavas, and Bhīma's fights with Hidimba and Baka are not mere additions but in Muktesvara they assume an altogether different form. The descriptions of morning and night are absolutely original. In the scene of the Garden party of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, the details of their play and the variety in food stuffs are Muktesvara's peculiarities. In the descriptions of battles we find several anachronisms when we come to the lists of weapons and the technical terms in fighting. These descriptions are so very graphic and lively that they make us believe that the battles are taking place before our eyes.

Mādhava's descriptions, on the contrary, are short and they give only an idea of the scene scrupulously restricting himself to the text, he suddenly lets his pen loose when he describes the Mandapa erected for the princes to assemble for the Svayamvara of Draupadī and the marriage ceremony. This might be the result of some local manuscript tradition. This unique instance shows that Mādhava is as capable of describing a particular incident in a picturesque manner of Muktesvara. Mādhava does not want to display his poetical abilities. His main object seems to be to render the Sanskrit Mahābhārata into Marāṭhī. In doing so, whenever he finds it necessary, he even shortens some passages from the text itself expressly giving the reasons. His descriptions have, therefore, suffered in effectiveness.

The descriptions of Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā are lengthy and full of minute details especially in the case of fights. For instance, Bhīma's fights with demons are described at not less than six or seven places. These are detailed, extensive and effective to a certain extent but they do not come up to the level of those of Muktesvara. The scene of Draupadī Svayamvara has been so much shortened by Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā that the most beautiful scene looks like a dove with its wings chopped off.

(iii) Lists

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Cr. Text ( approximately )</i>
4.115	14 jewels	16 34-36
26.26-29	Countries	
27 122	"	113 7 <sup>a</sup>
33 22 <sup>d</sup> 25 <sup>c</sup>	"	
30.159-162	Fights	123 10
31.37-38	Weapons	123
40 85	People	164 35

When the ocean was being churned by the gods and the demons there came out fourteen jewels of which Muktesvara gives an entire list while in the critical text and that of Mādhava only five viz Sri, Surā, Soma, Turaga and Kaustubha are mentioned. There is also a list of eatables served to the Pāndavas at the time of the garden party <sup>1</sup> The names of the hundred sons of Dhrtarāstra and the names of the serpents sacrificed are not additions. They are found in the original text of the Mbh in the list of the names of serpents however given by Mādhava some names such as Vikhāra, Sārana, Yeraka, Dandala, Kusā-raka etc. are given which cannot be traced anywhere. The names of people Jāvi, Jangī, Nāyi, English, Kābe, Kāvate, Khorāsāna Multāna and people with the heads of horse, cow, a donkey, etc <sup>2</sup> are Muktesvara's additions. In this and in the list of weapons we find many obvious anachronisms. Mādhava gives a list of kings who were discomfitted when handling the bow in the Draupadi Svayamvara scene <sup>3</sup>

(iv) Miscellaneous.

Miscellaneous additions are innumerable as they are bound to be and hence all of them cannot be given here. Apparently no definite reason can be assigned to them. Some of these examples may be given as under (a) Addition of words and names etc. Durvāsa, <sup>4</sup> Dattātreyā, <sup>5</sup> Trimsatteenakoti <sup>6</sup> (b) Additions made unconsciously in the course of narration e.g. Dharma's ring that fell in the well, or the cane tied for placing the Bhāsa bird on the tree. <sup>7</sup> (c) To make her argument more convincing Gangā adds one more reason by saying that she stayed with Śantanū

<sup>1</sup> MK 29 82-90    <sup>2</sup> MK 15 6-11.    <sup>3</sup> MD 70 63-4    <sup>4</sup> MK 4.50

<sup>5</sup> MK 17 21.    <sup>6</sup> MK 4.80b.    <sup>7</sup> MK 30.106 and 211

6 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]



to fulfil his desire for a son <sup>1</sup> (d) There are many passages in the critical text which are in the form of narration, but Mukteśvara has turned them into dialogues to make the presentation dramatic and effective. In this process there are some additions (e) Mukteśvara gives a list of similes in one or two places<sup>2</sup> Introduction of Ch. IX is an addition. There is a digression on the Six Systems of Philosophy<sup>3</sup> Descriptions of Mohini, Mādrī<sup>4</sup>, etc. and praises of Kṛṣṇa by Dharma<sup>5</sup> and Arjuna<sup>6</sup> are additions.

#### Omissions

The Mahābhārata of Mukteśvara is not an epic in the technical sense of the term. He is interested in the story of Mbh. He has, therefore, purposely omitted detailed descriptions. Apart from this, we find some other passages omitted by Mukteśvara from Ms K4 1 e from his Sanskrit original. Some of them are noted below

<i>Cr</i>	<i>Apparatus</i>	<i>footnote</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>MK</i>	<i>(approximately)</i>
46.	25		430		10 32
59	20		536		14 28
96	6		998 <sup>ab</sup>		23 109-111
98	17		1038		24 24
122	13		1362, 1363		30. 105
122	15		1365		
122	18		1368		
166.	15		1781		40 92
76					30 73-79

App I. Drona gives a big pot to Asvatthāmā and other pupils Kamandalū so that his son should finish his work earlier and get more lessons but Arjuna gets lessons with Asvatthāmā

App I 100 MK 42 121 Nālāyani goes to Himālaya to win the favour of Mahesvara. She wanted a husband and she uttered it for five times, so Mahesvara said that she would get five husbands. This is an account of previous birth of Draupadī

These and such other passages are to be found in Ms K4 but not in the MK-version. There seems to be no reason why MK should neglect these passages except that they do not affect in the least his plan of narrating the story of Mahābhārata.

<sup>1</sup> MK 22.108    <sup>2</sup> MK 10 16-56, 35 128 32    <sup>3</sup> MK 15 84-93

<sup>4</sup> MK 4 128-57, 28 15-8    <sup>5</sup> MK 46 28-46    <sup>6</sup> MK 42 104-14

The rest of Mukteśvara's omissions can be classified as under:

- (i) Descriptions and praises (ii) Unnecessary details  
(iii) Repetitions (iv) Conversations (v) Miscellaneous,  
(i) Descriptions and praises -

<i>Or Text</i>		<i>MK,</i>
194-17 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Ocean</i>	5.20
26	<i>Himālaya</i>	5.124
1185-30	<i>Funeral of Pāṇḍu and the lamentation of citizens</i>	28.90
15945-51	<i>Divine horse</i>	40.45
359-70	<i>Praise of Asvinikumaras</i>	2.49
3139-146	<i>Praise of Nāgas</i>	2.121
22022-29	<i>Mandapāla praises Agni</i>	50.23

These omissions can be explained by the fact that Mukteśvara did not want to translate literally the Mbh. These passages were, in his opinion, digressions and had they been retained the continuity of the episodes would have been disturbed and the attention of the readers diverted. It is, however, noteworthy that instead of omitting the descriptions of battles he describes them in their minute details very vividly and forcefully probably because he was preparing, though unconsciously, a background that was helpful to Śivāji in getting the cooperation of the brave Mahārāstrians. In Mādhava we see all these passages in an abridged form. Mādhava drops the praise of Asvinikumaras to save space.<sup>1</sup> Mandapāla's praise of Agni is only referred to in Visnudāsa Nāmā.<sup>2</sup>

- (ii) Unnecessary details —

(a)	Upādhyāyini, the wife of Dhaumya, after her bath was about to curse Uttanka	.. 3.126 <sup>b</sup>
(b)	Rsis describe the merits of Saunaka	. 4.5-7
(c)	Vinatā blesses Garuda before flight	.. 24.7-9
(d)	Śesa says that he expected the very boon which Brahmā bestowed on him	.. 32.17
(e)	Brahmā praises Śesa	.. 32.23
(f)	Deplorable plight of the ancestor of Jarat-kāru	... 41.4-29

<sup>1</sup> MD 8.87.    <sup>2</sup> Vn 67.

(g)	Account of Dakṣa genealogy	...	70. 1-29
(h)	Kaca's brave deeds	.	71.25-29
(i)	Details of the Ambā-Ambālikā Svayamvara		96
(j)	Quarrel between Arjuna and the Gandharva about the use of the Ganges	...	158.15-19
(k)	Obstacles met with by Vasiṣṭha trying to commit suicide	..	167. 1-10
(l)	The anger of Arjuna and the advice given to him to drown his anger in the sea		171 1-20
(m)	The advice given by Śamika	...	38 3-10
have been omitted here as Muktesvara has made use of it elsewhere			
(iii)	Repetitions .		
(a)	All the introductions of Vaiśampāyana		
(b)	Anticipation of episodes like Animāṇḍavya etc.		57 74-106
(c)	Anticipation of episodes like birth of Śakuntalā		8.
(d)	Why Puru is enthroned	..	80 12-23.
(e)	Yayāti remains in the sky at the time of his fall from the heaven		81.4-12
(f)	Account of the birth of Drona and his difference with Drupada	.	154
(iv)	Conversations		
(a)	Questionnaire of Uttanka	...	3 166-171g
(b)	Agni argues with Bhṛgu	..	7 1-11.
(c)	Śarmisthā and Yayāti	..	77 14-25
(d)	Arjuna and Angārāparṇa	..	159.
(e)	Vargā and the Brahman	...	209.1-22
(f)	Arjuna and Vāsudeva	...	211 17-21
(v)	Miscellaneous		
(a)	Somaśravā's ability to protect against any evil except that which is inflicted by Mahādeva		3 15 <sup>d</sup>
(b)	Janamejaya went to Takṣaśilā after directing his brothers to attend on Somaśravā	..	3 18 <sup>b</sup>
(c)	Upādhyāyasya te kārṣṇāyasaṁ dantāḥ bhavato hiraṇmayā bhaviṣyanti	...	3 75cd
(d)	Śarmisthā retired to her room thinking that Devayāni was drowned Śarmisthā was a scheming girl (pāpānāśayā)	...	73 13 <sup>b</sup>
(e)	Bhīmā's challenge to Hidimba	...	141 1-12.

Such miscellaneous omissions are numerous and are not so very important from the point of view of narrating the story of the Mbh.

The name 'Dagdharatha' was, no doubt, important in its place because the chariot of Citraratha was burnt and hence he had become Dagdharatha. The name has got an episodical importance but it is omitted by Mukteśvara. It is also omitted by Visnudāsa Nāmā. Together with it Visnudāsa omits reference to the facts that Rsi Dhaumya was taken as the purohita and that there was the exchange of Cāksusi Vidyā and Agnyastra. Visnudāsa altogether omits the following passages

(a) Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana meets the Pāṇdavas on the way to the capital of Drupada for the Svayamvara of Kṛṣṇā

(b) Samvarana Tapatī episode

(c) Viśvāmitra's taking away of the celestial cow by force

(d) Kalmāśapāda episode

(e) Account of Vasistha's mental disturbance when he tried to commit suicide

(f) Demon sacrifice of Parāśara.

Towards the end when describing the "Khandava Vana" Fire he only refers to the episode of Mandapālā and Jaritā. The episodes that are only referred to are as good as omitted. In like manner, Mādhava refers to the Saudāsa Madayanti episode, but omits the birth of Duhśalā and the pure conduct of Yāja and Upayāja. The Nīlakanṭha episode which is found in Mukteśvara is omitted by both Mādhava and Visnudāsa Nāmā while the Nālāyani episode which is omitted by Mukteśvara is only referred to by Visnudāsa and dealt with at length by Mādhava.

#### *Changes.*

There are chiefly three types of changes

(i) Abridgements,

(ii) Amplifications, and

(iii) Verbal and factual changes

#### (1) ABRIDGEMENTS

<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Mukteśvara</i>	<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Mukteśvara</i>
3.102-104	2.88	7.12-26	3.28-31
3.111-115	2.94 <sup>d</sup> -95	22	5.57-58
3.178-195	2.148-152	33	7.32-38
5	3.4-13	37.1-13	7.87-88

<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Muktesvara</i>	<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Muktesvara</i>
55-56	13.23-44	134 7-15	36 19-20
58	14 1-17	142	37 47
68.67-71	16.163-164	145-147	38 12-33
70.30-46	17.1-6	160-163	40.49-64
71.25-51	17 91-97	174	40.163-170
111 11-17	27.70	215	48 97-101
131.12-18	35 44	223.1-6	50 57

## (ii) AMPLIFICATIONS

<i>Cr Text</i>	<i>Muktesvara</i>	<i>Cr Text</i>	<i>Muktesvara</i>
9 3-5	3 42-52	68 17-18	16 115-127
15 1-3	4 42-47	68 74 <sup>b</sup>	16 176-179
16.14-23	4 82-110	73 8-11	18 11-21
20.3	5 20-23	73 15-24	18 26-41 <sup>b</sup>
23 8 <sup>b</sup>	5 62-64	79 16	18 118-125
37.13	7 89-91	83 2	19 177-182
39.16	8.35-39	94 67	23 43-51
40.8	8.83 <sup>b</sup> -86 <sup>b</sup>	102.4-14	25.41-74
43 1-10	9 17-35	102 16 <sup>a</sup>	25.75-76
49.28 <sup>b</sup>	11 65-74	110 43-45	27 39-55
51	11.144-170	124 10-13	31 6-20
53 20	12.33-39	133.18-27	35 83-104
67.6-14	16 22-55		

[ For (iii) Verbal and factual changes see table at the end ].

Some more changes are to be found in Visnudāsa Nāmā. They are, as a matter of fact, additions to the episodes.

(1) In the episode of Bhīma's fight with Hidimba, the Pāṇdavas sleep only because the night came on Arjuna and Bhīma were to keep watch at night one after the other. First half of the night Arjuna kept the watch and awoke Bhīma at mid-night to take his turn.

(2) When Bhīma meets Hidimbā he tells her all the detailed information since they left the lac-house treacherously set on fire by the Kauravas.

(3) Bhīma tells Hidimbā that he has to go to Ekacakrā and that she should carry him on her back. Upon this Hidimbā tells him of the demon Baka who required a cartful of food daily.

This is quite inconsistent because Visnudāsa tells us a short time back that Bhīma tore the womb of Singāvati and caught

the phoetus in hand which slipped out and fell in the forest near Ekacakrā. The phoetus is Baka himself.

There is one such inconsistency to be found in Mādhava also. He tells us that poisoned Bhīma when thrown in the lake by the Kauravas was brought back to consciousness by a nāgakanyā named Padmavati by giving him a sip of nectar. Highly obliged, Bhīma lived with her for some days - on her request - and begot a son whose name is Babhruvāhana ( Adh. 52 ). This in the first place, is a change in the episode and in the second place it is inconsistent with his own narration of Babhruvāhana being born of Citrāngadā from Arjuna ( Adh. 77 ).

Mādhava changes the end of the Baka episode like this.

When Bhīma returned to Ekacakrā after killing Baka he was a terror to the citizens as also to the king who ran away along with his fighting force. The town was practically evacuated. The Brahman - the host of the Pāṇdavas - reported to the king the facts of Bakavadha. Peace was then restored. The king received the Brahman warmly and rewarded him ceremonially. - It is peculiar that the king does not enquire even by a word about the hero who killed the demon.

Subhadrā harana episode is totally changed by Mādhava.

Arjuna, on hearing reports about the extraordinary beauty of Subhadrā assumed the guise of an ascetic and went to Dvārakā with a desire to carry her away. In this disguise Arjuna saw Kṛṣṇa but now could not bow down to him in the midst of the crowd that had assembled to see the newly arrived ascetic. Arjuna was confounded and could not praise Kṛṣṇa even mentally. Kṛṣṇa, however, decided to make Arjuna bow down to him. But when Kṛṣṇa asked the ascetic his whereabouts he straight-way told the fact keeping back nothing. Kṛṣṇa told Arjuna that on the next day there was a fair on the Raivata Mountain and all the members of the family would go there, leaving Subhadrā at home to attend upon the ascetic. Kṛṣṇa would leave a chariot with bow and arrow and join the procession to facilitate Arjuna to run away with Subhadrā and that Balarāma, if furious, would be managed by Kṛṣṇa himself.

When Balarāma proposed to keep back Subhadrā at home to attend upon the ascetic, Kṛṣṇa, on purpose, dissuaded him from doing so. As a result Balarāma's confidence in the ascetic was

increased as was expected and Subhadra was left alone with the ascetic who put Subhadra into the chariot that Kṛṣṇa had kept at his disposal and eloped with her. The servants reported the fact to Balarāma. All of them pursued and overcame the ascetic who told them that he was Arjuna and had purposely done all this because he knew that Subhadra was offered to Duryodhana. Balarāma charged Kṛṣṇa with the conspiracy.

Peculiar versions of the different episode in Viṣṇudāsa Nāma

The Pāṇḍavas<sup>1</sup> escaped from the lac-house and as they were very tired Bhīma carried the rest with Kuntī from forest to forest. He placed them all in a forest and went in search of water as all of them were thirsty. For water he wandered for a long time and in his wanderings met with a huge mountain-like serpent who asked Bhīma "ko jīvati?" Bhīma could not answer the question and hence the serpent swallowed him. Seeing that Bhīma did not return for a very long time Kuntī became very anxious and on consultation with Dharmā sent Arjuna to find him out. Arjuna met that very serpent who asked him the same question. Arjuna failed to answer it and was also swallowed up. Nakula and Sahadeva who followed Arjuna met with the same fate. Then came Dharmā who was confronted with the same question "ko jīvati?" Dharmā gave a prompt reply

विष्णुभक्त जाण जीवति । पचवर्ण प्रतिपालिती । सो जीवति भूमंडळी ॥ 63b-d  
सर्वा आगळा परोपकारी । वेदाची आज्ञा वाहे सिरी । सो जीवति गा अवधारी ॥

66b-d

ज्याची रसना रसवंती । आणि भार्या अमे गुणवंती । लक्ष्मी भागुनीया त्यागिती  
सो जीवति भूमंडळी ॥ 69

जो नुपक्षी शरणागता । सद्भावे पूजा अतीता । सो जीवति तत्त्वता ॥ 72

With each one of these replies the serpent let out of his mouth all the four brothers one after the other in the order in which they were swallowed. The serpent told Dharmā that formerly he was a prince of demons (daityarāja) by name Naghoka (Nahusa). He had become a serpent by curse that he would not be restored to a celestial body (divyadeha) until he was touched by the Pāṇḍavas. Then all of them took water for Kuntī.

Bhīma<sup>2</sup> was staying with Hidimbā leading a life of enjoyment in the forest. Hidimbā when alone once met with a demon

<sup>1</sup> Adhyāya 43. This is found in the Ajagara parvan of the Vanaparvan.

<sup>2</sup> Adhyāya 43. This is entirely different from the Kirmira vadha parvan of the Vana parvan.

Krimirā whose wife Singāvatī had a pregnancy longing to offer the heads of the Pāṇḍavas to her goddess-Kāmāksī Krimirā was the son of Vṛdhaksata, the son of Brahmā Krimirā first went to Duryodhana who told him that the Pāṇḍavas were burnt in the lac-house He told Singāvatī accordingly but she was not convinced and would give up her design Krimirā therefore, set out once more and he met Hidimbā, who on hearing his difficulty, unconsciously gave out the fact that the Pāṇḍavas were living in her own premises She did not forget to add that Bhīma killed all the demons that came in his way Krimirā, therefore, created a lake and on its bank built a temple of Śiva and sat there in the guise of a Rṣi. When the Pāṇḍavas came to the temple they bowed down to him, told their history and went into the temple to worship Śiva No sooner did they enter inside the temple than the doors were closed Krimirā lifted up the temple and took it to his own place.

When Hidimbā and Bhīma were together Bhīma felt restless for no apparent cause Hidimbā told him of the arrival of Krimirā and his carrying away of the other Pāṇḍavas On being instructed by Bhīma, Hidimbā carried him to the temple of Kāmāksī, left him there and went back Bhīma entered into the temple, smashed the image of Kāmāksī and sat in her place with the same poise When the servants of Krimirā came forth to worship the goddess they were frightened by the terrifying looks of the image, hence they closed the door and poured the Pañcāmṛta from an opening at the top Bhīma drank all that. After a little while the four Pāṇḍavas together with Kuntī were brought before the temple for sacrifice Bhīma, all of a sudden came out of the temple, killed Krimirā and flung him into the fire.

Then Bhīma went to Singāvatī, tore her womb open and took the phoetus out. But it slipped from his hand and fell in the forest near the city of Ekacakrā. The name of that phoetus is Baka. Bhīma went to Hidimbā and asked her to take all of them to Ekacakrā which she did

On<sup>1</sup> the way while the Pāṇḍavas were touring, Bhīma was hungry Dharma had only a ring - Mudrikā - left with him

<sup>1</sup> Adhyāya 48 This, as far as I know, cannot be traced in the Mbh.

7 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]



He handed it over to the hungry brother who went to the town near by and tried to get food. Nobody in the town was prepared to exchange food for that Royal ring through the fear of the king who would arrest the possessor of it. The minister of the king agreed to give Bhīma food to his satisfaction on exchange of the ring. Bhīma was served with food but was not satisfied though the entire stock in his house had been exhausted. As the condition was not satisfied Bhīma asked for his Mudrikā back. The minister would not give it. Bhīma struck the minister and those of his party and took the ring away.

Nārada<sup>1</sup> went to the Pāṇḍavas and fixed their days with Draupadī. After this he requested Bhīma to fight with the demon - Kapilāsura who lived in Sonitapura. On the outskirts of that town Bhīma fought with Mugutamani and Kamalāsura, the sons of Kapilāsura and then with Kapilāsura himself. When Bhīma was exhausted he sat on the back of a camel and started back for Vāranāvata. On the way Bhīma was asleep when the camel turned back to Sonitapura and left him at the gates. That night Bhīma was killed by Kapila.

Kuntī and Arjuna in Vāranāvata and Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā dreamed at the same time that Bhīma had been killed. Nārada went to them the next morning and related the story in details. Kṛṣṇa and Nakula went to Sonitapura. At Kṛṣṇa's behest Nakula collected all the limbs of Bhīma and he was brought back to life with the help of Sañjivani Vidya. Kapilāsura was turned into a buffalo.

Kṛṣṇa<sup>2</sup> and Nakula went to Sonitapura at the place of Kapilāsura. At that time Kapilāsura was out and so Kapilāvatī, his wife, received them warmly. Nakula being a very handsome youth she was enamoured of him. Afterwards when Kapilāsura was killed in a fight she was married with Nakula.

Arjuna<sup>3</sup> broke the rule laid down by Nārada so he went on pilgrimage. On his way he met Hanumanta in the Śrngāravana of Rāmacandra. He slightly referred to the prowess of Rāma by blaming him for not having erected a bridge of

<sup>1</sup> Adhyāyas 56-8. This is equally untraceable. Cf. The story of Osiris of the Egyptian Mythology.

<sup>2</sup> Adhyāya 59. This episode untraceable.

<sup>3</sup> Adhyāya 62.

arrows for the monkeys to pass. Hanumanta got angry and asked Arjuna to prepare a bridge of arrows with which Hanumanta would like to try his strength. The condition was that if the bridge was broken Arjuna was to enter into the fire. The bridge was broken when Hanumanta jumped on it. Arjuna was about to enter into the fire as was agreed upon but Kṛṣṇa appeared on the scene and said that for want of witness there was no proof of the stipulation. The whole procedure was to be gone through again. Kṛṣṇa sided with Arjuna and Hanumanta was defeated. He, therefore, agreed to sit on the banner of Arjuna.

Arjuna<sup>1</sup> was crossing the Indranilla mountain. There Śamkara in wrath struck Arjuna with his trident. Arjuna fought with him and broke the trident with the tip of a blade of Darbha grass. Śamkara, very much pleased with the skill of Arjuna, presented him with Pāsupata Astra and the Kirita from which he came to be known as Kirita.

Arjuna<sup>2</sup> went to Amarāvati. Indra arranged that he should sleep at night in the Citrasālā. Attractively dressed and with amorous glances and gestures, Rambhā went to Arjuna with the desire of intercourse. Arjuna tried to shield himself with his vow of chastity. Rambhā was upset and cursed that Arjuna would be a eunuch for life but when she was pacified that duration was limited to one year only.

In the version of Viṣṇudāsa Kṛṣṇa<sup>3</sup> himself tells Arjuna that Subhadra was offered to Duryodhana and Kṛṣṇa alone was against it. The name of the mountain is Govardhana and not Raivata and the Yādava family was going there for Indra-worship. Kṛṣṇa had previously informed Subhadra of his plan. When Yādavas proceeded for the Govardhana mountain Subhadra first went to the dwelling place of Kṛṣṇa after a while. Kṛṣṇa arrived there and then he took her to the chariot of Arjuna.

Kṛṣṇa nandana<sup>4</sup>-Surakṣyāti-pursued the ascetic Arjuna, who was carrying Subhadra. There was a great fight in which Arjuna was forced to release Mohini Astra. All those that be-

<sup>1</sup> Adhyāya 62 - Not traceable

<sup>2</sup> Adhyāya 62. This story occurs in the Indralokābhigamana parvan in the Vana parvan. In the original it is Urvaśī and not Rambhā and the curse is amended and condoned by Indra and not by the Apsarā.

<sup>3</sup> Adhyāya 63.

<sup>4</sup> Adhyāya 64.

longed to Balarāma's party fell unconscious on the ground. He brought only the charioteer to consciousness and told him that he was Arjuna carrying away Subhadrā who was offered to Duryodhana. Akrūra went and reported this to Dharma and Duryodhana and invited the latter to fight against Arjuna.

Agni<sup>1</sup> went away after burning to ashes the entire Khāndava vana. That night the Pāndava family kept late hours gossiping with Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā was due for delivery and could not sleep because of the pains. She was also present there. Meanwhile she slept when Kṛṣṇa was speaking. But though she slept the phoetus in the womb kept on responding to Kṛṣṇa, who came to know of it after a while. Kṛṣṇa sent his wheel in the womb of Subhadrā through her nose along with the inhaled breath and retaining only to cut off all his hands which numbered one thousand originally. That phoetus when born was named Abhimanyu and it was believed that his life which was in danger at the hands of Paraśurāma was saved by averting his being Sahasrārjuna.

These instances of episodic additions in the version of Viṣṇudāsa make it clear that Viṣṇudāsa had no particular Ms before him while rendering the Mahābhārata into Marāṭhī. He has freely utilised some of the episodes from the Vana parvan even changing the original text completely. He has also added much from his own imagination. Ms apart, he is not even faithful to story of Mahābhārata and hence Muktesvara criticised him and probably referred to him by calling his performance as "ग्राह्य कर्षीचा वाग्जल्य" .

In MK we find an effort to elevate and adapt the material to suit his narration. MK as well as MD deal with the episodes freely but do not take freedom with them like Viṣṇudāsa. MK is faithful to his Sanskrit text which is of the family of Ms K4 of the Critical Edition and MD strictly adheres to his Sanskrit original that corresponds to D4. MK has omitted only one episode whereas Viṣṇudāsa has omitted not less than six of them and MD has omitted only the reference to the birth of Duhsalā. He has added nothing as he has omitted nothing and the changes that are seen in MK and MD are verbal in a great measure and real episodic changes and transformations are seen mainly in the version of Viṣṇudāsa.

<sup>1</sup> Adhyāya 68

## CONCORDANCE OF ADHYAYAS IN MK , MD, and Cr. Ed.

MK.	MD	Cr Ed.	MK.	MD.	Cr Ed
1	1-8	1-2	26	47	105-108
2	9-10	3	27	48-50	109-115
3	11-12	4-12	28	51	116-119 12
4	13-14	13-17 151	29	52 1-39	119
5	15-16	17 152-26 34	30	52 40-53	120-123
6	17	26 35-30.	31	54	124-126
7	18-19	31-38 26	32	55	127-128
8	20	38 27-40	33	56	129
9	21	41-44	34	57	App I 81
10	21	45-47	35	58-59	130-134
11	23	48-51	36	59-60	135-138
12	22	52-53	37	60-62	139-144
13	24-25	54-57.74	38	62-63	145-152
14	26-27	57 75-61	39	64-65 50	153-157
15	28-29 9	62-66	40	65 51-69	158-174
16	29	66-69	41	70-71 65	175-181 27
17	30-31	70-72	42	71 66-72 67	181 28-189
18	32	73-77 3	43	72 68-73 18	190-191
19		77.5-83 5	44	73	App I 103
20		83.6-88	45	.	192-199 25
21	38-	89-90	46		199 26-204
22	39-40 55	91-94 39	47	.	205-213 21
23	40 56-42 50	94 40-96	48	.	213 22-215
24	42 51-44.	97-100	49	...	216-219
25	45-47 43	101-104	50	..	219-225

<sup>1</sup> Taking into consideration all the additions, omissions and changes made by these three authors we find that the verses in the Cr. Ed numbering 7190 have been rendered into 7113 Ovis by Mukteśvara, 6145 by Mādhava and 3906 by Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā for chapters 40-68 only, the first 39 chapters not being available in the Ms used for this article.

(iii) COMPARATIVE TABLE OF VERBAL & FACTUAL CHANGES IN THE THREE MARATHI VERSIONS

Note — In the Ms of Vṛṣṇadāsa Nāmā at my disposal the first 39 adhyāyas are missing.

\* shows passages similar to those of the Critical Text.

<i>Critical text</i>	<i>Vṛṣṇadāsa Nāmā</i>	<i>Muktesvara</i>	<i>Mūdhava</i>
(1) 3 119 सा आह	(1) 2.98 <sup>c</sup> सोय म्हणे	(1)	*
(2) 3 150-53	(2) 2.126-132	(2)	*
(3) 3.165 <sup>b</sup> किं चिरं क्षतमिति	(3) 2 139 <sup>a</sup> - 140	(3)	*
(4) 6 9 <sup>a</sup> मृगु was angry	(4) 3 19 <sup>c</sup> He was helpless	(4) 11.46 <sup>b</sup> he was undisturbed.	
(5) 6.11 पुलोमा spoke	(5) 3 21 अग्नि spoke	(5)	*
(6) 8.6 <sup>d</sup> -7 <sup>a</sup>	(6) 3 37	(6) 12.6 <sup>b</sup> omit	
(7) 16 8 <sup>a</sup>	(7) 4 75	(7) 14	"
(8) 17.28-29	(8) 4 176-83	(8)	*
(9) 20 2 <sup>a</sup> Serpents stuck to the tail	(9) 5 17-18	(9)	*
(10) 23 10-11 गरूड asks the serpents	(10) 5 67 <sup>a</sup> विनता asks म्हू	(10) 15 72 <sup>cd</sup> विनता and गरूड ask म्हू	
(11) 25 31 <sup>a</sup> रोहिण वट	(11) 5 111 <sup>b</sup> रोहिणेंय वट	(11) 16 41 <sup>b</sup> अडुत वट	
(12) 37 17 दुखाश्रुणि मसुचे	(12) 7 93 <sup>d</sup> उदक हस्ते तिंचिले	(12) 19.32 <sup>a</sup> झुंभी बोले कोपायमान	
(13) 57 29 प्रत्यग्रह, कुंशाब alias मणिवाहन, मच्छिह्न, गदु.	(13) 13 65 प्र. कृ म. and विमल	(13) 24 52 महारय मणिबाहु, मालबा	
(14) 57 39 तदेतो वृक्षेपतेन सुमिप प्रति.	(14) *	ललितय (14) 24.63 <sup>d</sup> रेतस्वलन झाले सुमीवरी	
जगदाह			
(15) 59 10 षण्महर्षयः मानसा पुत्रा.	(15) 14 21 मानसपुत्र दशसंख्या	(15)	*
(16) 59 12 अनाहु, प्राबा, अग्निहा	(16) 14 25 दयाहु, चरिहा, विमला प्राबा and विन्हा	(16) 27.46 <sup>a</sup> दनायुणी only.	

*Critical Text*

*Vishnuśāstra Nāmā*

- (17) 59.21<sup>a</sup> चत्वारिंशत् 21<sup>b</sup> विप्राचीनि  
(18) 59.43<sup>b</sup> रतिपुणः  
(19) 60.30<sup>a</sup> स्तनं  
(20) 60.32<sup>b</sup> नन्दी  
(21) 60.55<sup>b</sup> मांसी  
(22) 60.66<sup>b</sup> अनलाया शुकी पुत्री  
(23) 69.48<sup>a</sup> मोक्षितत अश्वमेध  
(24) 71.10<sup>b</sup> देवा उजु  
(25) 71.12<sup>a</sup> Gods tell of दुषपर्व  
(26) 73.4<sup>b</sup> वायुश्रुत स (पुरंदर )

(27) 77.13<sup>b</sup> शर्मिष्ठा

requested for intercourse

(28) 77.21-23 अधर्मातन्नाहि माम्

(29) 90.21<sup>a</sup> कालिङ्गी करण्डू

(30) 90.39 विमला, चतुर्विंशं पुत्रगतं

(31) 90.95<sup>b</sup> अश्वमेध दत्त

(32) 94.65<sup>b</sup> भयम् asked the  
ministers the cause of

संततु's gloom

(33) 96.57<sup>b</sup> यक्ष्माणं

(34) 107.11 सोदरं पातयामास

*Muktesvara*

- (17) 14.29<sup>a</sup> पाचशत 30<sup>a</sup> प्रचीत  
(18) 14.41- रविबरा  
(19) 14.88<sup>a</sup> हस्त  
(20) 14.90- नदी  
(21) 14.100<sup>a</sup> भकी  
(22) 14.116<sup>a</sup> अतया नामे शुकी पुत्री  
(23) 16.241<sup>a</sup> मोक्षित अश्वमेध  
(24) 17.28<sup>a</sup> शचीचा वर  
(25) 17.42 शकुन gives a hint  
(26) 18.7<sup>b</sup> विनादार्थ पाठवी अनिष्ट

(27) 19.25 ययाति demands

intercourse

(28) 19.29 इमिष्ठा had no oppor-

tunity to appeal

(29) 21.22<sup>b</sup> रेणु कालिणी

(30) 21.37<sup>b</sup> विशाला 37- चतुर्विंशती

(31) 21.84<sup>b</sup> स्वदन

(32) 23.39-41 भयम्

suggested for a यृहिणी

(33) 23.164<sup>a</sup> राज्यक्ष्मा महारोगे

(34) 26.65---66 धृतराष्ट्र  
struck the stomach with

stone

*Mādhava*

- (17) \*  
(18) \*  
(19) \*  
(20) \*  
(21) \*  
(22) \*  
(23) 29.32<sup>b</sup> अनेक अश्वमेध  
(24) \*  
(25) No reference to दुषपर्व  
(26) garments are exchanged  
in haste  
(27) 33.11<sup>c</sup> मज्जापुली करी अंगना

(28) 33.36-39 no particular

feeling is dominant.

(29) 38.21<sup>a</sup> करेणु 24<sup>c</sup> कलिनामजा

(30) 38.29<sup>a</sup> अजामीढाची भार्या भद्रावती-

(31) 38.54 अश्वमेध

(32) 40.66<sup>b</sup> तेने (भीष्म) जाणवला

सर्व भावाच्य

(33) 42.46<sup>b</sup> शयोरंग

(34) 47-90 She struck the  
stomach with stone

*Critical text*

- (35) 112 29<sup>b</sup> तं शब्दं अत्रवीत्  
(36) 123 11<sup>a</sup> द्रोण refused to teach  
एकलव्य  
(37) 132.7<sup>a</sup> रासमुक्तेन स्पन्देन  
(38) 143.1 भीम does not marry हिडिंबा  
because she will not forget  
भीम's enmity with demons.  
(39) 143 34 घटभासोक्चइति ..  
(40) 149.3 कुंती assures the Bra-  
hman that one of her five  
sons would go to the demon  
Baka.

*Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā*

*Mukdesīan*

- (35) 27 111<sup>b</sup> नाथ झोटिंग मुखीची बाणी। (35) 49 82 शोबनाम तपोधन । तेणें केलें  
समाधान । \*  
(36) 30 170 एकलव्य refused to (36)  
learn from द्रोण  
(37) 35 51<sup>c</sup> दिव्यश  
(38) \*  
(37) 58 49 येसरे (खेचरे,) रथास  
जोडाबी ।  
(38) 60 72 भीम does not marry  
because धर्म was not yet  
married  
(39) 62 33<sup>ab</sup> घटहास्थी मोकळे कच ।  
यास्तव बोळिजे घटोक्च ।  
(40) \*

- (39) 42 76<sup>ba</sup> तुझे उदर (39) 37 80 ममक पाषाण वटुं निःकच ।  
असें घटाकार नाच  
देविजे घटोक्चज ।  
(40) 45.17 भीम him- (40)  
self proposes  
that he should  
go to Baka in-  
stead of any  
member of the  
Brahman's fa-  
mily.

- (41) 153.3 Another Brahman (41) 46. The host of (41)  
who halts at the place  
where Pāṇḍavas stayed,  
Eṭakakra told them of क्रीपदी-  
स्वयंवर.  
क्रीपदी-स्वयंवर.

(41) 70 As in Viṣṇudāsa.

*Critical text*

*Viśṇudāsa: Nāmā*

*Yukteśvara*

*Mādhava*

- (42) 155.35 The wife of इन्द्र does (42) \* (42) 39.45 She comes of her own (42) 65 37<sup>cd</sup> As in Mukteśvara.  
not come forth even when  
called forth at the time of  
the birth of Kṛṣṇa and  
Dhr̥tadyumna
- (43) 172.1<sup>b</sup> वसिष्ठ controlled (43) omit \*  
पराशर in his demon sacrifice (43) 40 152<sup>ab</sup> पराशर refused to (43) \*  
(44) 175.34 " yantracchidreṇā (44) 46. The fish (44) \* stop his sacrifice (44) 70 As in Viśṇudāsa  
bhyatikramya lakṣyam  
samarpayadhvam khagama-  
irdaśārdhah "
- (45) 158.12<sup>a</sup> गवश'g name is (45) 47 52- चित्रांगद (45) \* \*  
अंगारपर्व 56<sup>a</sup> चित्रसेन
- (46) 205 26-28 On breaking the (46) 61 10<sup>b-cd</sup> अर्जुन (46) \* \*  
rule when युधिष्ठिर was with  
द्रोणदी, अर्जुन asked the  
permission to go out for  
12 years but युधिष्ठिर said  
that अर्जुन has committed  
no fault
- asked what he  
should do on  
breaking the  
rule, all the  
brothers told  
him to go out  
for 12 years  
keeping chastity  
(धर्म is silent)  
when asked धर्म  
permits him at  
once.



*Critical Text*

*Viṇudāsa Nāmā*

(47) 208. The ascetics informed him of the जलचर in the five Tirthas, when अर्जुन was coming out of water the जलचर caught him. He threw it on the ground. She was a cursed अस्त्र by name वर्ग. On her request अर्जुन touched four of her friends and restored them back to their celestial bodies.

(48) 214 अर्जुन and कृष्ण were together sporting in the river Jamunā when अर्जुन approached them in the form of a Brahman.

(47) 61. इंद्रसेना informed अर्जुन of अमरकंद जलचर. अर्जुन shot the crocodile with an arrow and liberated it.

(48) 66 अर्जुन first went to कृष्ण (at Gokula) who directed Agni to go to अर्जुन and then Kṛṣṇa went to वाराणासी to see अर्जुन.

*Muktesvara*

(47) King चित्रवाहन informed अर्जुन of the crocodile. The name of वर्ग is omitted.

\*

(48)

*Mādhava*

(47) 77 37 नदी is the name of the Apsarā to whom अर्जुन restored her own celestial form first

\*

I am much obliged to Dr. R. G. Harshe for his help in the preparation of this article.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIMITS FOR THE COMMENTARY OF  
INDU ON THE *ASTĀNGASAMĠRAHA* OF VĀGBHATA I

( Between A. D. 750 and 1050 )

By

P. K. GODE

In the edition of the *Astāngasamgraha*<sup>1</sup> with the commentary of Indu called *Śaśilekhā* published 31 years ago we are told that "*Śaśilekhā* is a commentary of *Astāngasamgraha* by Indu one of the renowned and learned pupils of Vābhata."<sup>2</sup> Evidently this statement is based on the following verse<sup>3</sup> quoted by the editor in his Sanskrit Introduction to the edition —

“लंबश्मश्रुकलापमंजुजनिभच्छायायुतिं वैद्यका-  
न्तेवासिन इन्दुज्जटमुखानध्यापयन्तं सदा ।  
आगुल्फामलकञ्चुकाञ्चित्दरालक्ष्योपवीतोऽज्वलत्  
कण्ठस्थागरुसारमञ्जितदृशं ध्यायेद्दृढं वाग्भटम् ॥”

The Editor in making his observation about the versatile intellect of the author of the *Astāngasamgraha* remarks —

“द्वादशसाहस्यपरपर्यायः श्रीमद्दृष्टांगसंग्रहः, ततोऽपि सारतरोष्ठांगहृदया-  
ख्यग्रन्थः । रसशास्त्रसर्वस्वभूतो रसरत्नसमुच्चयश्च यदीयधिषणाविलासे परं  
साक्षिण ॥”

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. by T. Rudrapārasāva, Trichur, 1913 H. H. Sur Rama Varma, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E. of Cochin in his letter of 20th July 1914 published as a foreword to this edition observes —

“A copy of the commentary (*Śaśilekhā*) could not be had in full anywhere. He (Editor) had to go to different places and hunt in several old manuscript libraries, and to collect lists from here and there. Several of such lists were worn out by old age and full of mistakes. It took several years for him to get a clear and complete copy and the labour and the trouble (with which) he had to compare and correct it were not ordinary. Even now it is doubtful whether the copy now prepared is quite free from errors. But I have no hesitation in saying that it is difficult to get a more correct copy of the book anywhere. But for the pains and troubles he has taken in publishing it this important work would have been completely lost.”

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. *Upodghāta*, p. IV —The editor calls this verse as “ध्यानश्लोक” and states that it is “लोकप्रसिद्ध.” He does not say anything about its authorship and chronology.

Evidently in making the above observation the Editor is attributing common authorship to the three works viz.

(1) the *Astāngasamgraha* of Vāgbhata I

(2) the *Astāngahrdaya* of Vāgbhata II

and (3) *Rasaratnasamuccaya* of Vāgbhata<sup>1</sup> who according to Sir P C Ray was a contemporary of Roger Bacon (died A. D. 1294)—Vide *History of Hindu Chemistry*, p lvi of Vol I (Calcutta, 1902)

I have already recorded elsewhere<sup>2</sup> the current views about the authorship<sup>3</sup> of the above three works, by three different authors of the same name Vāgbhata and hence need not deal with the question in this paper.

Our Editor on the basis of the common authorship of the three works further states —

“श्रीमदष्टांगसंग्रहार्थस्तु कामपि समीचीनां दीपिकामन्तरा परिज्ञातुं दुःशक्त इति स्थिते अयमिन्द्रोः उदयः परमप्रसोद एव निखिलप्रपञ्चस्य ॥”

We agree that as the *Astāngasamgraha* of Vāgbhata I was difficult to be understood a commentator has come into being in the form of Indu, the author of the *Śaśilekhā* but it is difficult to make Indu a contemporary of Vāgbhata I as the Editor does in the following remarks on no solid evidence except the proverbial ध्यानश्लोक already quoted by him and reproduced above —

“इन्दुः अयमाचार्यवाग्भटशिष्येषु प्रधानः तदुक्तम् ध्यानश्लोके । “इन्दु-जज्जटमुखानध्यापयन्त” मिति । अनेन अष्टांगसंग्रहस्य हृदयस्य च शशिलेखेति व्याख्यातन्यत इन्दुनास्त्रापि सा व्यपदिश्यते ॥”

This is confusion worse confounded as the editor makes

<sup>1</sup> Vide p 4 of my Introduction to the *Astāngahrdaya*, edited by Vaidya Harishastri Paradkar of Akola (N S Press, Bombay, 1938)

<sup>2</sup> The identity of authorship for the *A. samgraha* and *A. hrdaya* has been taken for granted by many responsible writers on the history of Indian medicine. H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Gondal (pp 34-35 of his *Arya Medical Science*, London, 1896) States — “In his work called “*Ashtanga-hrdaya*” he (Vāgbhata) acknowledges the assistance derived from the writings of Charaka, Sushruta, Agnivesha, Bhela and others who had gone before him. He also wrote another work called “*Ashtanga-Sangraha*” on which Pandit Arunadatta wrote a commentary ”

Vagbhata I, Indu and Jajjāṭa<sup>1</sup> contemporaries without any historical evidence and secondly he states that *Śaṭlekhā* is a commentary on the अष्टांगसंग्रह as also on the ( अष्टांग ) हृदय<sup>2</sup> a statement which is clearly refuted by Indu's own statement at the beginning of his own commentary on the *Sūtrasthāna* that *Śaṭlekhā* is a commentary on the *Samgraha* and not on the *Hṛdaya*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aufrecht makes the following entry about जैज्जट —

CCI, p. 209 — “ जैज्जट wrote a commentary on सुश्रुत Quoted by Hemādri in *Āyurvedarasāyana* B P. 373, in *Bhāvaprakāśa* Oxf. 311b, in *Ātāṅkadarpana* Oxf. 314b, by Candr ata Oxf 357b, in *Todarānanda* W p 289 ”

If Candrata ( about A D 1000 according to Hoernle ) quotes जैज्जट, he is earlier than 1000 A. D. but I have no evidence to prove that इन्द्र and जैज्जट were contemporaries

Vopadeva, contemporary of Hemādri quotes जैज्जट many times in his commentary प्रकाश on his father's सिद्धमन्त्र ( see Ms of सिद्धमन्त्रप्रकाश in the Govt. Mss Library at the B O R Institute, Poona, folios 11, 12, 17 etc ) Vopadeva also quotes खारणादि, हरिश्चन्द्र ( fol 8 ) and वाष्पचन्द्र ( fol 8 and 34 ) खारणादि is quoted many times by Hemādri in *Āyurvedarasāyana*. Possibly खारणादि mentioned and quoted by हेमाद्रि and वोपदेव may be identical with खरनादि but this possibility needs to be examined separately.

<sup>2</sup> Vide p. 188 of *Aryan Medical Science*, London, 1896 —

“ Some are of opinion that Vagbhata, the celebrated author of “ *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* ” flourished in the time of the Mahabharata and that he was the family physician of the Pandavas ”

<sup>3</sup> Vide verse 2 in the following 6 introductory verses of Indu's commentary in the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅga-samgraha* which I reproduce from the Edition of the work by Pandit R. D. Kinjavadekar ( Chitrashala Press, Poona 1938 ) —

“ प्रोद्भासिस्वच्छशस्त्रकुटशशिकलोद्गामवेद्यहृदय-  
प्रोद्यत्सौर्दर्यवयंप्रकटितवपुष नौमि वागीश्वरी ताम् ।  
कल्लोलोल्लासशान्तिप्रततसिततरङ्गीरसिम्बन्तराल-  
श्लिष्यत्पीयूषरेखा स्मरयति विबुधान्यायतो या दयालुः ॥ १ ॥  
सरसि सुविपुलायुर्वेदरूपे कृतार्थं  
मुनिवरः नौषे दीर्घनाले निबद्धम् ।  
रश्मितदलमिवाङ्गैः संग्रहार्थं सरोज  
विकसति शशिलेखा व्याख्येन्दोर्यथावत् ॥ २ ॥  
अनालोचिततन्त्रार्थः पदादावकृतभ्रमः ।  
यत्रावभाषते मूर्खस्तत्रावाचया विपश्चितः ॥ ३ ॥

( continued on the next page )

This lotus in the form of *Samgraha* blooms at the sight of the moon's digit viz. the *Śāśilekhā vyākhyā* or commentary composed by Indu.

The date of Vāgbhata I is "early seventh century" according to Dr. Hoernle<sup>1</sup> and as Indu commented on the *A Samgraha*<sup>2</sup> of Vāgbhata I, his date must be posterior to early seventh century. We may, therefore, safely fix about 625 A. D. as one terminus to the date of Indu. Let us now see if we can push forward this limit on the strength of evidence from Indu's commentary

(continued from the previous page)

बन्धच्छायाविशेषज्ञः सूक्ष्ममव्यधिगच्छति ।

सुकवेरपि या वाचः कुण्डास्ता जल[ड]पसदि ॥ ४ ॥

क्रियद्वा कथयिष्यामि यत्सतत्वेन बुध्यते ।

प्रमाणं च तदेवात्र यदस्माभिर्निरूप्यते ॥ ५ ॥

दुर्व्याख्याविषयस्य वाहटस्यास्मदुक्तयः ।

सन्तु संवित्तदायिन्यः सदागमपरिहृताः ॥ ६ ॥ "

Pt Kinjavadekar's edition of the *Aṣṭāṅga-samgraha* with Indu's commentary is based on the following printed editions and Mss -

- (1) *Text only*—Ms procured by me from Rajavaidya Jagatap of Kolhapur through the B. O. R. Institute, Poona
- (2) *Text only*—Ms in the possession of Vaidya Gopalshastrī Godbole of Bombay.
- (3) *Text only*—Printed edition of Saka 1810 = A. D. 1888 by Ganesh Sakharām Tarte of Nasik and Vaidya Krishnashastrī Devadhar.
- (4) *Text with Indu's commentary*—Edited at Trichur in 1913

On 6th January 1939 I brought to the notice of Pt Kinjavadekar a Ms of Indu's commentary in the Adyar Library described in their *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Part II (1928) p 69 as follows -

"अष्टांगहृदयव्याख्या (शशिलेखा) इन्दुरुता 39 B 19 दे 657 "

If this Ms turns out on examination to be Indu's commentary it should prove very useful to Pt Kinjavadekar as he has failed to procure any Ms of this important commentary for his edition. The catalogue statement "अष्टांगहृदयव्याख्या" is again misleading because शशिलेखा is Indu's commentary on अष्टांगसंग्रह and not on अष्टांगहृदय. Indu describes वाहट as "दुर्व्याख्या-विषयम्" i. e. lying in a state of unconsciousness produced by the effects of the poison of bad commentaries. This statement leads us to suppose that there were some commentaries on the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* preceding the *Śāśilekhā* of Indu.

<sup>1</sup> *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907, Intro. p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Aufrecht makes the following entries about Vāgbhata I and his work:—CC I. 35—"अष्टांगसंग्रह" med quoted by Arunadatta. "

(continued on the next page)

In chapter VI of the *Sūtrasthāna*, Indu makes the following comment:— [ 'गुणशब्दश्च भागपर्यायः ' । 'संख्याया गुणस्य निमाने' इत्यादिना ] ( पा. सू. ५-२-४७ ) The Editor has identified the above quotation in the *Kāśikā*<sup>2</sup> commentary of the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, which was composed about 650 A. D. This reference would push forward the limit of Indu's date to about 700 A. D. if the Editor's identification is correct.

Another quotation which if identified in the extant late lexicons would enable us to push forward the date of Indu is found in his comment on verse 17 of chapter II of the *Sūtrasthāna*. It reads as follows:—

[ "आमिषं भोग्यवस्तुनि" इति कोषः ]

The *Medinī* lexicon assigned to about the 13th century<sup>1</sup> has a similar quotation which reads as follows —

"आमिषं पुनपुसकम् । भोग्यवस्तुनि संभोगे "

It is difficult, however, to say if this quotation has a direct relation with Indu's quotation because it has often been found that some of the late lexicons have drawn freely on the earlier lexicons and at times, we find two different lexicons borrowing from a common source

A better criterion for pushing forward the date of Indu after 700 A. D. is the following quotation from the *Aṣṭāṅghrdaya* of

( continued from the previous page )

CC III, 8— "अष्टांगसंग्रह med by Vrddha-Vāgbhata RL 222-227

Do, 125 "बुद्ध वाग्भट med BL 2, 222-227" ( BL = Bhandarkar's lists of private libraries in the Bombay Presidency, Part I, Bombay 1893 ). The *Des Cat. of Madras Mss.* Vol. XXIII ( Medicine ) contains the following Mss — No. 13070-*Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* in Canarese characters on palm-leaf, pp. 122, contains 15 stanzas of the 4th *adhyāya*, some stanzas of the first *adhyāya* and from the 4th to the 37th *adhyāya* excepting *adhyāyas* 6 and 7. Breaks off in 38th *adhyāya* of the *sūtrasthāna*. No 13071-*Aṣṭāṅga-Samgrahavyākhyā* in Canarese characters on palm-leaf pp. 158. Reference is herein made to Hariścandra's commentary on the *Caraka-Saṃhitā* - "हृरिश्चन्द्रकृतं व्याख्यां विनाचरकसम्मतम् यस्तृणेत्यकृतप्रज्ञः वातुमीहति सोऽस्यधिम् ॥" ..... "नोयं बाहुदनाया शास्त्रकारश्च" . ...तस्मादष्टांगसंग्रहे .. .. " It is difficult to identify the portion contained in this work "

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Kalpadrakṣa* Baroda, 1928, Introduction, p 11 "Padmanābha-datta who wrote his *Prāgarādīvrtti* in A C 1375 quotes *Medinī* in his *Bhūtiprayoga* ( CC I, 467a )". "The *Mankhaṭikā* in Zacharie's edition contains also a quotation from *Medinī*, which if genuine would push back *Medinī*'s date to the 12th century for that commentary was most probably written before the last quarter of the 12th century "

Vāgbhata II, who has been assigned to 8th or 9th century A. D. by Prof. Jolly ( vide p. 16 of *Osteology* ).—

*Sūtrasthāna* comm. 'on verse 108 of chap. VII ( p. 54 of Kinjavadekar's edition ) —

“ उक्तं च हृदये—‘ परस्परौपसंस्तम्भाधातुस्नेहपरंपरा ’ ( शा. अ. ३-६५ )

As Pandit Kinjavadekar has identified the above quotation in the *A. hrdaya* of Vāgbhata II we have no doubt that Indu was acquainted with the *A. hrdaya* and it is possible to find more references ' to the *A. hrdaya* in his commentary. This reference, therefore, would justify us in concluding that Indu flourished after Vāgbhata II say after about 900 A. D. and consequently

1 In chapter I of *Nidānasthāna* ( p. 5 of Kinjavadekar's Edition ) we find the following reference —

“ येन हृदये पठति—“ तदेव व्यक्ता यात रूपाभित्यभिधीयते ” इति । एव च ' स्थिते स पूर्वरूपाः कफपित्तमेहाः ' इति यदा हृदयग्रन्थे व्याख्यायते तत्रैव चोदयिष्यामः ”

On p. 25 ( chap. V. of *Sūtrasthāna* ) Indu observes —

“ क्रमश्च ' पादेनापथ्यमभ्यस्तम् ' इत्यादिना वक्ष्यते ” The Editor points out that the line “ क्रमश्च ..... अभ्यस्तम् ” is only a part of the following whole stanza of the अष्टागहृदय ( *Sūtrasthāna*, VII, 48 )—

“ पादेनापथ्यमभ्यस्तं पादपादेन वा त्यजेत् ।

निवेत हित तद्वदेकद्विव्यन्तरीकृतम् ॥ ”

These references leave no doubt that Indu was conversant with the अष्टागहृदयसंहिता of Vāgbhata II and perhaps he wrote a commentary on it ( “ यदा हृदयग्रन्थे व्याख्यायते तत्रैव चोदयिष्यामः ” ) We shall have to investigate if any Mss of Indu's commentary on the हृदयग्रन्थ can be traced anywhere in India. The *Triennial Catalogue* of Madras Mss, Vol. IV, Part I, Sanskrit B describes a Ms of अष्टागहृदयव्याख्या called शशिलेखा. It is No R 3447 ( p. 5142 ) and consists of folios 176 in Malayalam Characters. It was transcribed in 1920-21 from a Ms in the possession of Mr M N Nambiar, Kaimur village, Trichur, Cochin State. The Ms begins in 141st stanza of the *Sūtrasthāna* and contains the *Sūtrasthāna* and the *Nidānasthāna* complete. Judging by the colophons the Ms appears to be Indu's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*. These colophons as recorded in the catalogue read as follows —

“ इति इन्दुविरचितायामष्टागहृदयव्याख्यायां शशिलेखायां त्रिशोऽध्यायः ॥ इति सूत्रस्थान समाप्तम् ॥ ”

“ इति इन्दुविरचितायामष्टागहृदयव्याख्यायां ( शशिलेखायाम् ) निदानस्थाने षोडशोऽध्यायः ”

it is absurd to make him a pupil of Vāgbhaṭa I as the ध्यानश्लोक does according to the statement of the Editor of the Trichur Edition of Indu's commentary.

In dealing with the properties of the different vegetables ( p. 61 of *Sūtrasthāna* ) Indu observes :—

“अत्र शाकानां हरितकानां च येषां नामानि नोक्तानि तेषां देशभाषाद्विच्योऽधिगम्यापभ्रंशसंस्कारादुपयोगविशेषाच्च ज्ञातव्यानि”

In accordance with this statement we find him recording terms current in Kashmir for particular plants —

p. 56—“काश्मीरेषु महोयकः”

p. 57—“काश्मीरेषु केबुकमन्यत्र कनाविकम्”

—“काश्मीरेषु शिलः”

—“काश्मीरेषु लोनारा”

—“पर्यायाः निघण्टु’ ज्ञानात् देशभाषासंस्करणाच्च किञ्चित् ज्ञायन्ते”

p. 58—“काश्मीरेषु कोर्णाकः”

p. 60—“काश्मीरेषु तुम्बुरुः”

p. 63—“काश्मीरेषु वृक्षत्रदरी”

p. 66—“अत्रापि फलानामप्रसिद्धानां च येषां नामानि नोक्तानि तानि नानादशकुलेभ्योऽपभ्रंशसंस्कारादिनाधिगन्तव्यानि”

As Indu has taken the trouble of noting the terms current in Kashmir for particular plants etc I am inclined to believe that he either hailed from Kashmir<sup>2</sup> or was acquainted with a

<sup>1</sup> Vide Introduction, p. xlix of *Kalpādrū-Kośa* Vol I (Baroda, 1928) The oldest of medical and botanical glossaries or Nighantus is *Dhanvantarī-nighantu*, which according to Kṣīrasvāmin is earlier than Amara. Other nighantus are — *Paryāyaratnamālā* or *Ratnamālā* of Mādhavakara, author of *Rugvīṇśaya*— 8th or 9th cent A. C. (Winternitz III, 550) *Paryāya-Muktāvalī* or *Muktāvalī* is based on the above work — *Nighantuseśa* of Hemacandra *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, *Madanavinoda* ( 1374 A. D. ), *Rājānighantu*, *Śivakośa* of Śivadatta ( A. D. 1677 ), *Śabdacandrīkā* of Cakrapāṇidatta, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-nighantu*, *Dravyamuktāvalī* and *Paryāyārṇava*

<sup>2</sup> In the शरीरस्थान ( chap. XIII, p. 87 ) under evil dreams reference is made to “द्रविडान्ध्रखीचण्डालादयः.” Indu explains,— “आन्ध्रद्रविडी वाक्षिण्यजनपदनामनी” i. e. the terms ‘आन्ध्र’ and ‘द्रविड’ are the names of Southern people or kingdoms. Can this explanation confirm our suggestion that Indu was a Northerner?

<sup>3</sup> [ *Annals*, B. O. R. I. ]



physician in Kashmir through whom he may have obtained the terminology recorded above

Indu in chapter VIII (*Sārīrasthāna*, p 61) gives the following definition of *gāmbhīrya* guna -

“यस्य प्रसादादाकारात् कोपशोकभयादयः ।

भावस्था नोपलक्ष्यन्ते तद् गाम्भीर्यमिति स्मृतम् ॥”

I have not been able to trace this definition in this form though the definitions of the *gāmbhīrya* guna are found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*<sup>1</sup> of Bharata, the *Dasurūpaka*<sup>2</sup>, the *Agnyavāna*<sup>3</sup> and other works Indu gives the definition of the word स्थूललक्ष<sup>4</sup> as follows.— ( p. 61 )

“यांलपं दातुं न शक्नोति स्थूललक्ष. स उच्यते”

These definitions show the critical nature of his commentary and justify to a certain extent the boastful statement of verse 6 in the beginning of the *Sūtrasthāna* viz “अस्मदुक्तयः सदागम-परिष्कृताः दुर्व्याख्याविषसुप्तस्य ब्राह्मणस्य संविन्निदायिन्यः सन्तु”

We have pointed out above that in commenting on the contents of the शाकवर्ग of the *Sūtrasthāna* ( p 57 ) Indu states that *parvāyas* or synonyms of the names of different plants may be found in the *Nighantus* ( पर्याया निघण्टुज्ञानात् ज्ञायन्ते ). This statement shows that he was conversant with some medical glossaries containing the names of the different plants and their synonyms. The question now arises whether Indu compiled any *Nighantu* himself. We shall try to record the following evidence for the consideration of scholars according to which it seems possible that Indu, the author of the *Śaśilekhā* commentary on the *Astāngas-*

<sup>1</sup> Benares Edn by Batuknath Sharma, 1929, chapter 24, p 272

“यस्य प्रभावादाकारा रोषद्वेषभयादिषु ।

भावस्था नोपलक्ष्यन्ते गाम्भीर्यमिति शस्त्रितम् ॥”

<sup>2</sup> Ed by Haas, p. 47

“गाम्भीर्यं यत्प्रभावेन विकारो नोपलक्ष्यते ।”

<sup>3</sup> Ed in *Bib Indica*, Calcutta, 1878, p 230

विशिष्टलक्षणेन लेख्यमुत्तमशब्दम् ।

गाम्भीर्यं कथयन्त्यायास्तदेवान्येषु शब्दताम् ॥”

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Apte in his Dictionary explains स्थूललक्ष as “Munificent, liberal, generous, Wise, learned, Inclined to recollect both benefits and injuries, Taking careless aim”.

*samgraha* and Indu, the author of a medical *Nighantu* frequently quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin<sup>1</sup> in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* may be identical :—

(1) Both the authors have the same name **Indu**.

(2) While **Indu** quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin is the author of a Medical *Nighantu*, our Indu is the author of the commentary on a medical work viz the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* and appears to be conversant with medical *Nighantus*, which he says contain the *pariyāyas* or synonyms of the names of plants.

(3) Indu quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin is evidently earlier than about 1050 A. D as Kṣīrasvāmin is assigned to the 2nd half of the 11th century. Our Indu is also likely to be earlier than A. D 1050 as we propose to indicate below.

In chapter II of *Nidānasthāna* (p 9 of Kīṃjavadekar's edition Indu refers to *Bhāttūra Haricandra* as follows —

<sup>1</sup> Vide Introduction, p 4 of *Nāmalingānuśāsana* (Amarakośa) with Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary ed by K G Oka, Poona, 1913. Kṣīrasvāmin belongs to the 2nd half of the 11th century (Between 1050 and 1100 A. D.) as he quotes Phoja and is quoted by Vardhamāna in the *Ganaratna-mahodadhī*. Medical authorities quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin are (1) *Suśruta* and *Sauśrutāh*, (2) *Vaidyāh* (chiefly *Caraka*), (3) *Dhanvantari* and his *Nighantu* (medical), (4) *Vāhata* or *Vāgbhata*, (5) *Candra*, (6) *Indu*, (7) *Candra-nandana*, (8) *Dhātuvīdya*, (9) *Nimih*, (10) *Haramekhalam*. *Indu* and *Candra-nandana* are very frequently quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin especially in his comments on the *वर्णोपधिर्ग*. *Indu* is quoted on pp 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81 etc. (Pages 53 to 84 contain 170 verses of the *वर्णोपधिर्ग* of the *Amarakośa*). The following quotations will show the nature and contents of Indu's *Nighantu* —

P 56 —“ आहेन्दुः—उदुम्बरस्तु यज्ञान्नं सुचक्षुः श्वेतवल्कलः ।

हेमदुग्धः रुमिफलः स्त्रीरवृक्षः स काञ्चनः ॥ ”

P 57 —“ आहेन्दुः—तुङ्गः पुष्पकसङ्गः स्यात् पुनामा रक्तकेसरः ।

पुंनागः पुरुषाद्वश्च केषा चिम्पद्वकेसरः ॥ ”

P 59 —“ इन्दुश्च—रौधः कषायरुद्धञ्जिल्लको मधुपुष्पकः ।

घणोषधः कालहीनो हिमपुष्पोक्षिमेषजम् ॥

उत्सादनो घनस्वक्वस्तरः शबरपादपः ।

रौधः शबरकः श्वेतत्वगती सारमेषजम् ॥

द्वितीयः पट्टिकारौधो बृहत्पत्रस्तिरीटकः ।

उत्तालकः स्तित्वकश्च पट्टी लाक्षा प्रसादनः ॥ ”

“एतदेव हादि कृत्वा भट्टारहरिचन्द्रेण वा शब्दस्य निर्दिष्टत्वाप्राधान्यं लक्ष्मणस्याप्राधान्यं व्याख्यातम् तच्च भिषक्शास्त्रनिष्णाता नाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति... भट्टारकेण तु पूर्वरूपेषु सकलदोषसाधारणत्वाद्भवशनस्य प्राधान्यमुक्तम्”

(p 95)—“भट्टारकेण तु ‘तथाविधिर्द्रव्यैः पूर्वमभिसंस्कारः शरीरस्य’ इत्यस्य वाक्यस्य” etc

भट्टार हरिचन्द्र ( or हरिश्चन्द्र )<sup>1</sup> referred to in the above extract by Indu is the author of चरकसंहिताभाष्य He is quoted by महेश्वर in his lexicon विश्वप्रकाश composed in A. D. 1111, by चन्द्रट ( about 1000 A. D. ) and by हेमाद्रि in his commentary on the अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhata II. He is also quoted by अरुणदत्त in his commentary on the अष्टांगहृदय<sup>2</sup> composed about 1220 A. D. It appears therefore that भट्टार हरिचन्द्र is earlier than 1000 and hence Indu's reference to him does not conflict with our suggestion that Indu, the author of *Sasitekhā* may be earlier than 1050 A. D. like his namesake, the author of a medical Nighanṭu<sup>3</sup> quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin about 1050 A. D.

The references to Bhaṭṭāraka Haricandra made by Indu show that he had not much respect for the views of Haricandra. This inference is warranted as Indu observes ( p. 95—*Sūtrasthāna* ) “भट्टारकेण ... द्वितीयोऽपि पक्षो य उद्भासित सोऽस्माभिरुपेक्षित एव” and “भट्टारहरिचन्द्रेण ... व्याख्यात. .. भिषक्शास्त्रनिष्णाता नाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति” This criticism of Haricandra by Indu is likely to lead one to suppose that Indu and Haricandra might have been contemporaries but we have at present no evidence either to prove or disprove this suggestion.

In the Madras Mss Library Ms No. 13071 is a commentary on the *Astāngasamgraha* but the description of this Ms given in the catalogue<sup>4</sup> this commentary has not been identified Judging by the verse<sup>5</sup> which appears in the extract from this

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogus Cata* of Aufrecht, I, 756<sup>b</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Do, I, 761.

<sup>3</sup> Hoernle *Osteology*. Oxford, 1907, p 17, 100

<sup>4</sup> Vide *Catalogue of Nepal Mss* by Haraprasad Shastri and Bendall, Calcutta, 1905, Preface p xxiii — A Ms of *Sārottara Nighanṭu*, a work on synonyms in medical science, bears the date of copy viz N S 200 = A. D 1080

<sup>5</sup> *Madras Mss Vol* xxiii

6 -- “हरिश्चन्द्रकृता व्याख्या विना चरकसमतम् ।

यस्तुणोत्पत्त्यरुतप्रज्ञः वातमीहति सोऽङ्गुलिम् ॥”

commentary given in the catalogue and which contains a contemptuous criticism of Haricandra<sup>1</sup> ( vide Indu's criticism of Haricandra noted above ) it appears that, this unidentified commentary may be Indu's *Satulekhā* itself. As, however, the Madras Ms is not before me I am unable to say anything definitely about this identity for the question needs to be settled by a comparison of the Madras Ms with the published text of the *Satulekhā* commentary.

In the following passage Indu appears to refer to his Guru ( " अस्मद्गुरुव " ) —

Page 95 ( *Sūtrasthāna* Chap. IX )—

‘ एतच्चास्मद्गुरुवो यथा प्रकान्तशब्दार्थपरतन्त्रास्तेरेवेति च तद्विरुद्धानि परामृशन्तौ वमनादिवत् पूर्वं देहस्याभिर्भस्मकृतेरपि वैयविधेयतामाभिमन्यमानाश्चरकस्य बौद्धारो व्याख्यानभिमन्यन्ते । भट्टारकेण तु ‘ तथाविधैर्वा इत्यर्थः पूर्वमभिर्भस्मकारः शरीरस्य ’ इत्यस्य वाक्यस्य व्याध्युत्पत्त्यनैकान्तिकप्रदर्शनपरत्वमङ्गीकृत्य तथाविधैरिति च विरुद्धसमानि परामृश्य विरुद्धैरेव पूर्वसंस्कारो व्याध्यनुत्पत्तिहेतुरिति साव्याहारप्रायतया द्वितीयोऽपि पक्षो य उद्भासितः सोऽस्माभिरुपेक्षित एव ’

The expression " अस्मद्गुरुव " contains possibly a reference to Vāgbhata II, the author of the *Aṣṭāṅghrdaya* but we must await more decisive evidence on this possibility<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a Ms No 13092 of *Caraka Saṃhitāvyākhyā* by Haricandra in the Govt Ori. Mss Library Madras, ( Vide Catalogue Vol. XXIII, 1918, p 8801 ) It consists of 151 pages and contains the 3rd *adhya*ya of the *Sūtrasthāna* It begins —

“ स्वयम्भुवे प्राणमृदन्तरात्मने जगत्प्रदीपाय महद्विर्तेषिणे ।

विवस्वते दीप्तसहस्ररश्मये सुरोत्तमायामिततेजसे नमः ॥ ”

Colophon of Chap I—

“ इति आचार्यहरिश्चन्द्रकृतौ प ( प्र ) शिष्योपाध्यायकीयन्यासे भेषजचतुष्टके दीर्घजीवितीयः प्रथमोऽध्यायः ”

<sup>2</sup> Pt. Kinjavdekar has drawn my attention to the following passage in Indu's comment on *Sūtrasthāna*, chapter III, ( p 24a ) of his Edition —

“ तथा च आचार्य एव हृदये केवलं महत्या. प्रतिषेध करोति ।

यतः साहोरात्रेण जीर्यते । न तु मात्रान्तरस्य विधानम् ।

‘ सत्विका क्षुद्रती तैलाद् घृताद्वा महती पिबेत् ’

इति स्नेहे काये वा पीने यमकाभ्यक्त देहाया वस्त्रेणोद्गं वेष्टयेत् ”

( continued on the next page )

References to Indu by subsequent medical writers<sup>1</sup> have not yet been recorded and consequently it is difficult to fix the lower limit for Indu's date in a definite manner. That Indu flourished after Vāgbhata II (8th or 9th century) is amply

(continued from the previous page)

This passage connects आचार्य and अष्टांगहृदय because the line "सूतिका क्षुद्रती तैलाद्वृत्ताद्वा महती पिबेत्" quoted by Indu is found in the following verse of the अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhata II (शारीरस्थान, chapter I) (p 100 of Kujavdekar's Edition, where the text of शारीरस्थान of the अ हृदय is reproduced for reference).—

"सूतिका क्षुद्रती तैलाद्वृत्ताद्वा महती पिबेत् ।

पञ्चकोलकिनी मात्रा मनु चोष्ण गुडोदकम् ॥ ९४ ॥"

This identification appears to indicate that Indu claimed Vāgbhata II, the author of अष्टांगहृदय, as his "आचार्य" and hence by the expression "अस्मद्गुरु" mentioned above he refers to Vāgbhata II and none else.

If our interpretation of the above passages is correct Indu becomes a direct pupil of Vāgbhata II and hence a junior contemporary of his आचार्य or "गुरु" as he respectfully refers to him.

In addition to the references made by Indu to Vāgbhata II in the words आचार्य and गुरु the following reference to बाहटग्रन्थ appears to refer to अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhata II and not अ संग्रह of Vāgbhata I — (P 1023 of *Sūtrasthāna*, chap IX)

Vāgbhata I— *A Samgraha*—

"ब्रह्माद्वसन्ते तस्यान्ते पक्षात्तद्वदनोदये ।

सेवेन कामतः काम हेमन्ते शिशिरे बली ॥ ९७ ॥"

Indu's comment — "वसन्ते ब्रह्मवर्गि व्रजेत् । तस्य वसन्तस्यान्ते यौष्मे पश्चात्तद्वत् घनोदये वर्षासु हेमन्ते शिशिरे च, बली बलवान्, कामतो यवच्छ, सेवेन । शरदि त्वनुकावापि वसन्तसदृशबलादि मत्वाद्ब्रह्मवादेव नारी व्रजेत् । तथा च श्रीबाहटग्रन्थ एव 'ब्रह्माद्वसन्त-शरदोः इति' "

Vāgbhata I has omitted शरद् or autumn in his list of seasons mentioned in verse 97 quoted above. Indu suggests that the omission is not intentional and quotes in his support the line "ब्रह्माद्वसन्तशरदो" from बाहटग्रन्थ which appears to be identical with हृदयग्रन्थ or अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhata II who has included the शरद् in his list of seasons congenial for sexual intercourse. By बाहट in the above comment Indu definitely means Vāgbhata II and not Vāgbhata I. The two बाहट are here distinguished as one is quoted in support of another.

<sup>1</sup> One इन्दु is quoted in the कैरलीव्याख्या on the अष्टांगहृदय in the following

"अलजी अलजीसज्ञ क्षुद्ररोगः । वृत्तादिकच्छपोन्नतान्त कच्छपि विशेषणम् इति इन्दुः"

(continued on the next page)

proved by his references to हृदयग्रन्थ in the *Saṣṭilekhā*. If, however, his identity with Indu, the author of the medical Nighantu quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin ( 1050 A D ) as suggested tentatively by me<sup>1</sup> in the present paper is proved conclusively we may be able to assign him to a period say between A. D 750 and 1050 A. D.

( continued from the previous page )

Vide p 403 of the Edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* with the *Kaivalyavyākhyā* which is being published in the journal *Vaidya Saralā* ( Kottayam, South India ) August 1938, III, 5 This commentary quotes ( p 402 ) from वैजयन्ती lexicon ( middle of 11th century ) “ क्षुद्रः स्वल्पेऽधमे क्रूरे ” इति वैजयन्ती । and from भोज ( p 403 ) कर्णयोर्परिष्ठाच्च कर्णयोश्च समन्ततः । पिटका कुरुते राजन् शालूकसदृशा हियराम् । and hence is later than about 1100 A D This commentary also quotes from श्रेष्ठदत्त ( p 402 — “ आयुर्वेदस्य तस्याष्टौ प्रादुरङ्गानि तद्विदः । तर्बेभ्यः प्रायशस्तेभ्य क्षुद्रगेगाः समुद्धिताः ” इति श्रेष्ठदत्तेऽपि ) from जानृकर्ण ( p 405 ), चन्द्रन्तर ( p 407 ), सुश्रुत, सौश्रुत ( p 407 ), मञ्जरी ( p 413, 401 ) केशव ( p 416 )

<sup>1</sup> I am happy to find that my friend Mr. Nalinath Das Gupta ( *Indian Culture* Vol III p 434 ) has already suggested this identity — “ An author of a medical Nighantu or glossary, Indu by name is quoted not few times by Kṣīrasvāmin attributed to the 2nd half of the 11th century in his reputed commentary on the *Amarakośa*. The *Nighantu* appears to have been lost but the name Indu is found to have been borne by a commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II. A Ms of Indu's commentary entitled *Saṣṭilekhā* and perhaps the only one preserved is in the Madras Government Collection ( *Triennial Catalogue*, Madras, Vol IV, Part I, Sanskrit B p 5142 ) That both the books are medical and that Indu is not a common place-name amongst the Vaidyaka writers of ancient and early mediaeval India tend to suggest that Indu, the author of the *Nighantu* is the same with the Commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*. But Indu is after all, a familiar name to us as being that of the father of *Mādhavakara*, the celebrated author of the *Nidāna-saṃgraha* and it may not improbably be that the writer of the above two works was but Indu, the father of *Mādhava-Kara* ” As Mr Das Gupta assigns *Mādhava-Kara* to the “ *Seventh Century* ” his father Indu, ( as suggested by Mr Das Gupta above ) will have to be assigned to the 7th Century As against 8th or 9th Century for Vāgbhaṭa II suggested by Dr Hoernle Mr. Das Gupta suggests 7th Century at the latest for Vāgbhaṭa II [ Vide Vol III ( 1929 ) p 795 of *History of Indian Medicine* by Girindranath Mukharjee ] This line of argument will make Indu, his son *Mādhava-Kara* and *Vāgbhaṭa II* as contemporary writers of the 7th Century Further as Indu criticizes *Bhaṭṭāraka Haricandra* in his *Saṣṭilekhā* Haricandra also may be a contemporary of Indu or some-what earlier than Indu All these are, however, probabilities, which need to be verified by specialists in the field.

Prof. Keith<sup>1</sup> regards the *Aṣṭāṅgaśāstra* of Vāgbhata II as probably the work of a Buddhist. We have suggested earlier in this paper that Indu was most probably the disciple of Vāgbhata II as he refers to him as "आचार्य" and "गुरुः". If this position is accepted it is easy to understand the following passage in Indu's commentary —

Vāgbhata I in the *Sūtrasthāna* (chap. IV, p 20) gives the following salutary advice —

“सत्त्वाद्यवस्था विविधाश्च तास्ताः  
सम्यक् समीक्ष्यात्महितं विदध्यात् ।  
अन्योऽपि यः कश्चिदिहास्ति मार्गः  
हितोपदेशेषु भजेत तं च ॥”

Indu explains the above verse as follows —

“सत्त्वरजस्तमसो नानाविधानवस्थाविशेषान् परीक्ष्यात्महितं करणीयम् ।  
दुस्तरा हि धर्मप्रतिबन्धका रजस्तमोविकाराः । तथा मनुबुद्धादिप्रणीतेषु  
हितोपदेशशास्त्रेषु यो मार्गोऽस्ति तमपि सेवेत ।”

It will be seen from the above text and its explanation by Indu that though in the text there is no suggestion of Buddhist philosophy or religion Indu specifies the text reference to *अन्य मार्ग* by explaining it to refer to *मनुप्रणीतशास्त्र* or *बुद्धप्रणीतशास्त्र*. This specification can be properly explained if we regard Indu as the pupil of a Buddhist, though himself embracing the Hindu faith. This tolerance to Buddhism engendered by his reverence towards a Buddhist guru looks quite natural. Vāgbhata I, however, includes *धर्मशास्त्राणि* among 108 auspicious things<sup>2</sup> which have nothing to do with Buddhist religion.

<sup>1</sup> Vide p 510 of *Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928

<sup>2</sup> Vide p 84 of *Sāmrasthāna*, Chap XII— ‘ज्योतिष, धर्मशास्त्राणि तीर्थानि, काव्य, धर्मार्थकाममृतवाल्मीक्यादयः वेदवाक्य . अकारपुण्याद्वर्माकर्षाश्चन्द्रशेखरं सङ्गन्तान् शन दर्शनान्, मृगयान् कर्तव्यान् चामुमानि व्यपेक्षार्यासहि दिशन्त्युत्तमम् ”

# JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW

## 5. LEGAL PROTECTION OF PLANTS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

Dr. LUDWIK STERNBACH (Poland)

1. The Ancient Indian sources of law show that the Ancient Indians believed that plants (trees) lived their own lives. They enjoyed life, felt pains and grew, although some of their parts were cut off<sup>1</sup>

Trees were highly esteemed and whoever planted trees offered pious gifts. So according to Vis "He who plants trees will have those trees for his sons in a future existence. Even a giver of trees gladdens the gods by offering up their blossoms to them. He also gladdens his guests by giving their fruits to them, and the travellers with their shade and the manes with the water trickling down from their leaves when it rains."<sup>2</sup>

2. A Snātaka Brāhmana should keep the right side towards well known and large trees.<sup>3</sup> Women who desire to have a son should worship trees<sup>4 5</sup>.

We find in the Dharmaśāstras rules whose aim is to protect plants. However, it is doubtful whether the respective rules are equivalent to the legal protection of nature reserves we find in contemporary legislations.

3. The rules contained in the Dharmaśāstras should be divided into three groups:

- a. Protection of plants from the point of view of religion,
- b. Protection of plants which are considered *objecta sacra*,
- c. Protection of plants as private property.

4. *ad a.* It should be admitted that the protection of plants from the point of view of religion is based on the rules of ahimsā. The belief in the life and sufferings of the plants seems to confirm this statement.

<sup>1</sup> See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 895/6, see Marco Polo B III, ch. 30

<sup>2</sup> Vī. XCI 4-8. See Mbh. Anuśāsana-parva 23-32, Padmapurāṇa

<sup>3</sup> Mn. IV, 39, Y-I-133, Vī. LXIII, 28, Mārkaṇḍeya in Aparārka p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> Kādambari 56,

<sup>5</sup> See P. V. Kane's, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 893-896



This protection of the plants is based on the beautiful rule which is to be found in Vās.

स्वधर्मो राज्ञः पालनं भूतानां तस्यानुष्ठानात्सिद्धिः

Under "all beings" we shall also understand plants. According to Vās.<sup>7</sup> not even the king should be allowed to injure trees that bear fruit and flowers.

This rule is to be found in a developed form in Mn. and Y., Vis even repeats the respective slokas from Mn.

फलदानां तु वृक्षाणां छेदने जप्यमृक्शतम् ।

गुल्मवल्लीलितानां च पुष्पितानां च वीरुधाम्,<sup>8</sup>

"For cutting trees yielding fruit, shrubs, creeping or climbing plants or plants yielding blossoms he must mutter a Vedic text a hundred times "

Y<sup>5</sup> solves this question in the same manner and also uses the words रुक्ष, गुल्म, लता, वीरुध, छेदने, जप्य, ऋक्, and शत.

The commentators on V<sub>1</sub> and Y say that the trees must be useful because bread fruit and mango fruit<sup>6</sup> are "fruit bearing trees"<sup>7</sup> and jasmins<sup>8</sup> are plants yielding blossoms. The prayers ऋक् are Gāyatrī.<sup>9</sup> This meditative repetition of the ऋक् one hundred times does refer to the case of Dvijas and not to the case of Śūdras and the like, for they have no right to the meditative repetition of the Mantras. They have to fast for two days and nights. Their penance will be prescribed in proportion to their penalty.<sup>10</sup>

Mn<sup>11</sup>,<sup>12</sup> says कृष्टजानामोषधीनां जातानां च स्वयं वने ।

वृथा लभ्येऽनुगच्छेद्वा दिनमेकं पयान्नतः ॥

"If a man has wantonly cut plants, whether sown in ploughed fields or growing spontaneously in the forest, he must wait on a cow and subsist upon milk for one day."

The commentators understand under "plants which were sown in ploughed fields" — rice and barley and under "growing spontaneously in the forest" — wild rice, or better to say all the useful plants which grow wild

<sup>1</sup> Vās XIX-1    <sup>2</sup> Chapt XIX    <sup>3</sup> Mn XI-142

<sup>4</sup> V<sub>1</sub> L-48 is identical with Mn XI-42.    <sup>5</sup> Y III-276.    <sup>6</sup> Mit. 640.

<sup>7</sup> Mit 640.    <sup>8</sup> V<sub>1</sub>    <sup>9</sup> Mit.    <sup>10</sup> Mit. 643.    <sup>11</sup> Mn. XI-144.

<sup>12</sup> Repeated in V<sub>1</sub>, L-50.

Y. does not distinguish between cultivated plants and plants growing wild. Mit. takes an example from Mn. and Vi. and adds that it is immaterial whether the plants were growing in a village or in the forests

According to Y. the same penance is prescribed. Mit. explains that he who has cut down plants shall for one day, that is, during the entire course of the day, follow cows for the purpose of rendering them service, and drink milk at the end without having recourse to any other kind of food.

Mn.<sup>1</sup> adds that it is immaterial whether these acts were caused willingly or unwillingly. This point of view of the Dharmaśāstras is comprehensible because it only concerns the consequence, the religious penance, and not the legal consequences of the act.

Seemingly this rule is contradictory to the rule contained in Mn. XI-144 (second part) and Vi. L-50, because the word दयालवे-wantonly, intentionally, was used, therefore, only he who intentionally cuts plants is liable to penance, but the commentators explain clearly that the word दयालवे means for purposes other than those of religious sacrifice or divine worship. Y.<sup>2</sup> states it clearly saying "for cutting down plants unless for sacred purposes one shall for one day follow cows and subsist on milk." Mit.<sup>3</sup> explains this rule and says that "if the cutting is for the purpose of Pañcayājña there is no violation of the rule." It results also *per analogiam* from the rules concerning the killing of animals for religious purposes.<sup>4</sup> It is also found in Vi.<sup>5</sup> and Vās.<sup>6</sup>; Vās. adds also "for cultivation purposes." Hence for higher purposes trees can be injured.

The principle that the cutting of trees is not permissible is based on the religious maxim that cutting down a tree (द्रुम) for the purpose of getting firewood, or injuring plants, cutting trees (द्रुम), shrubs (बुल्ल), creepers (बह्वी), long climbing plants (लता) or herbs is a minor sin (उपपातक).<sup>7</sup>

5. *ad b.* The trees as *objecta sacra* are in particular protected. The penalty is then doubled. This case is to be found only in

<sup>1</sup> Mn. XI-146      <sup>2</sup> Y-III-276      <sup>3</sup> Mit 640.      <sup>4</sup> See second part.

<sup>5</sup> Vi LI-63      <sup>6</sup> Vās XIX-12.

<sup>7</sup> Mn. XI-64, 65, Y-III-24, Vi, XXXVII-24.

Y. and K.<sup>1</sup> As such trees were considered trees growing on special places such as a sacrificial place, a cemetery, a boundary, a sacred place or a temple, or well known trees,<sup>2</sup> which meant probably trees which were particularly revered. According to Mit<sup>3</sup> as such trees were considered the पिप्पल i. e. the holy fig tree (*figus religiosa*)—"the lord of trees",<sup>4</sup> as well as पलाश also called किशुक (*butea frondosa*) used for marking boundaries.<sup>5</sup> As was said before, the penalty in this case is twofold. It is twice as great as the penalty for hurting a tree which belongs to a private person (private property).

**GA. ad c** From the legal point of view the matter of injuring trees which are private property is very well solved in the Dharmasāstras and shows an exceedingly high level of understanding of legal problems by the authors of the Dharmasāstras.

The main principle of this question is that he who injured the tree which was private property should pay in accordance to the damage done.<sup>6</sup> He should not only pay for the damage done (*damnum emergens*) but also for the loss of his profit (*lucrum cessans*).

The principle is as follows :

वनस्पतीनां सर्वेषामुपभोगं यथायथा ।

तथातथा दम. कार्यो हिंसायामिति धारणा ॥<sup>7</sup>

The rule is that a fine must be paid for injuring all (kinds of) trees in proportion to their usefulness.

This rule is found in Mn.<sup>7</sup> and is repeated word for word in Kāty.<sup>8</sup> Mn. uses the words "all trees" which means "all kinds of trees" which are, for instance, enumerated in Y. and V1. "In proportion to their usefulness" means in accordance to their products<sup>9</sup> and position.<sup>10</sup> This rule too is repeated in V1. and Y., but these Dharmasāstras develop this principle. And so V1. speaks firstly about फलोपगमद्रुम (trees yielding fruit)<sup>11</sup> as of the most valuable trees and imposes the highest penalty; then speaks about पुष्पोपगमद्रुम (trees yielding flowers)<sup>12</sup> as less valuable,

<sup>1</sup> Y-II-228, K 197, 11-12 ( § 73 )

<sup>2</sup> According to K (197, 11-12) also trees which are grown in king's forest.

<sup>3</sup> Mit ad Y-II-228 <sup>4</sup> पिप्पलम् in Mit ad Y-II-103. <sup>5</sup> Mn. III-246

<sup>6</sup> Amount of damage done <sup>7</sup> Mn. VIII-285. <sup>8</sup> Kāty. 793.

<sup>9</sup> Kullūka. <sup>10</sup> Medhātithi. <sup>11</sup> V1. V-55. <sup>12</sup> V1. V-56.

and imposes the second penalty, afterwards speaks about वृक्षगुल्म and लता<sup>1</sup> as much less valuable and imposes the penalty of 100 *karṣāpanas*, and lastly speaks about the less valuable plants, i. e. grass (तृण)<sup>2</sup>; in case of injuring it the penalty of 20 *karṣāpanas* is imposed.

This rule is also accepted in Y.<sup>3</sup> Vi, as well as Y. enumerate the plants. The text of the rules varies although the principle is the same; it is that the higher the penalty the more valuable is the plant.

Y speaks about प्ररोहिशाखिनः (trees which throw down branches having sprouts)<sup>4</sup> i. e. those branches which when cut off develop again at each knot of trees (प्ररोह), such as the banyan and the like.<sup>5</sup> शाखा (branch), स्कन्ध (trunk) : e that from which the original branches shoot out<sup>6</sup> and उपजीव्यद्रुम i. e. trees which are means of livelihood, as for instance the mango tree.<sup>7</sup>

We should distinguish in this enumeration the degrees in injuring trees i. e. injuring of whole trees—प्ररोहशाखिन and उपजीव्यद्रुम on one side, and their parts शाखा, and स्कन्ध on the other. Y.-II-227 completely confuses these two different notions. Here too the author or authors of the Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra determine that the fundamental penalty amounts to 20 *panas* but probably according to the value it can be doubled (विंशतेर्द्विगुणो दम्). Mit.<sup>8</sup> explains this rule in the following manner “the three (?) fine penalties viz twenty *panas*, forty *panas* and eighty *panas* are inflicted respectively for the offences of cutting of the branches and for the offences following in the order.”

This sentence,<sup>9</sup> however, probably does not mention three but four penalties provided that it is admitted that प्ररोहिशाखिन, शाखा, स्कन्ध define only the word उपजीव्यद्रुम, the word च, however, does not allow such an interpretation

If we admit that this sentence enumerates four kinds of trees we cannot accept the point of view of Mit. that the fine should be inflicted according to the list of their enumeration, because we must apply the rule that the penalty depends on the useful-

<sup>1</sup> Vi. V-57. <sup>2</sup> Vi. V-58. <sup>3</sup> Y-II-227. <sup>4</sup> Stanzler's Translation

“Bäume deren Zweige wieder wachsen” <sup>5</sup> Mit. ad Y-II-227.

<sup>6</sup> Mit. ad Y-II-227. <sup>7</sup> Mit. ad Y-II-227. <sup>8</sup> Mit. ad Y-II-227.

<sup>9</sup> Y-II-227.

ness of these plants. In this case we should admit that for the cutting off of branches the penalty of 20 *panas* is to be imposed; for the complete destruction of the trunk -- 40 *panas*, of the trees which throw down branches having roots -- 80 *panas*, of the trees which are the means of livelihood -- 160 *panas*

However, according to Y.<sup>1</sup> for the cutting or destruction of less valuable plants, the fine is half of that mentioned above; it is 10 *panas*. To these less valuable plants belong गुल्म such as मालती plant<sup>2</sup>, and the like i. e. creepers which do not develop into any considerable length<sup>3</sup>, गुच्छ which do not have the form of creepers and are not generally smooth and straight i. e. the कुरण्डक plant<sup>4</sup>, a species of amaranth<sup>5</sup>, क्षय i. e. the करवीर plant<sup>6</sup>, a kind of tree with white, red or yellow flowers and the like which are generally straight and smooth<sup>7</sup>, लता i. e. the अतिष्ठक<sup>8</sup> a creeper which develops into considerable length<sup>9</sup>, प्रताना i. e. creepers without knots or offshoots and growing straight such as सारिवा and others<sup>10</sup>, ओषधय i. e. plants which develop fruit such as the paddy plant etc.<sup>11</sup> and विरुध i. e. the गडूची<sup>12</sup> a plant generally growing on trees, used for medicines, a kind of plant which even when cut grows and develops in various parts<sup>13</sup>

Very similar rules are to be found in K.<sup>14</sup> K. also distinguishes between more and less valuable plants and imposes fines according to the damage done to the plants

पुरोपवनस्पतीनां पुष्पफलच्छायावतां प्ररोहच्छेदने षट्पणः । क्षुद्रशाखाच्छेदने द्वादशपणः पीनशाखाच्छेदने चतुर्विंशतिपणः । स्कन्धवधे पूर्वस्ताहसदण्डः । समुच्छिन्नी मध्यमः । पुष्पफलच्छायावाद्गुल्मलतास्वर्धदण्डः ।<sup>15</sup>

So we see that for cutting sprouts of fruit trees, flower trees or shady trees in the parks near the city the fine amounts to 6 *panas*, for greater damage i. e. for cutting off of big branches the fine amounts to 24 *panas*, for even greater damage i. e. the cutting off of trunks, the perpetrator is punished with the first amercement, which amounts from 12 to 96 *panas*,<sup>16</sup> and in case of the greatest damage i. e. the felling of the respective trees, the perpetrator is

<sup>1</sup> Y II-229 <sup>2</sup> *Echites caragophyllata*, kind of jasmine.

<sup>3</sup> Mit ad Y II-229.

<sup>4</sup> *Ammania Vesicatoria*

<sup>5</sup> Mit ad Y II-229

<sup>6</sup> *Nerium odoratum oujeimensis*

<sup>7</sup> Mit ad Y II-229,

<sup>8</sup> a grape *dulbergia*

<sup>9</sup> Mit, ad Y II-229.

<sup>10</sup> Mit ad Y II-229

<sup>11</sup> Mit ad Y, II-229.

<sup>12</sup> *cocculus cordifolius*.

<sup>13</sup> Mit. ad Y. II-229.

<sup>14</sup> K. 197, 6-10 (§. 23)

<sup>15</sup> K. 197, 6-9 (§. 23)

<sup>16</sup> K 192 (§ 69),

punished with the middlemost amercement, which amounts from 200 to 500 *panas* <sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, in case of injuring of less useful plants (गुल्म, लता) which bear flowers, fruits, or provide shade,—half of the above fines shall be levied.

According to K it makes no difference where these trees have grown <sup>2</sup>

These are the rules referring to the restitution i. e. repayment of the damage really done, which—as mentioned above—depends on the real value (*praetium affectionis* is not taken in account) of the destroyed or damaged plants which is the property of the wronged person.

B. VI. knows also the rule of the loss of profit (*lucrum cessans*). We read there <sup>3</sup> सर्वे च तत्स्वामिना तदुत्पत्तिम्.

And all such offenders (shall make good) to the owners (of the trees or plants cut off or destroyed by them) the revenue which they yield: i. e. the profit which they earned from the trees or plants being their property. In what way, however, this “profit” should be calculated is not stated in this source of law. Therefore, the general legal rules should be applied to this case.

7. The Dharmasāstras also contain rules relating to the prohibition of eating some plants which are considered unclean. To these plants belong red and white garlic, onions, leeks, mushrooms, red gums from trees, exudations from trees, frumenty rice milk, fresh beans, turnips, brinjals, gourds, *kucunda*, *kumbhāṇḍa*, tree-roots and others, the modern equivalents of which are difficult to find <sup>4</sup>

It is evident that these rules have purely religious meaning.

8. The rules which were reckoned among the groups I and II contain rules whose aim was the protection of plants (trees), but are not equal to the rules concerning the protection of nature reserves from the point of view of civil law. The rules reckoned among the first group: i. e. the protection of plants from the point of view of religion, do not have any legal sanction. The same considers the rules belonging to the second group

<sup>1</sup> Ibid

<sup>2</sup> K 197, 10-11 (§ 73)

<sup>3</sup> V<sub>1</sub> V-59

<sup>4</sup> Mn IV-5-11, Y I-171, Āp I-17, 19, 26-28, G. XVII-32, Vas. XIV-33, Vi. LI-3, 34, 36, B (Aparārka 247) and Bhaviṣṣyapurāṇa, Brahmapurāṇa, Taittirīya-Śruti, Yama, Hārīta and Devala (all in Vira Ahnika p 511-513) etc.

The aim of the rules reckoned among the third group is not the protection of nature reserves, but the protection of these plants, therefore, this group cannot be interpreted from the point of view of legal protection of plants.

As to the rules reckoned among the first and second group, although from the point of view of the modern system of civil law, they are *leges imperfectas*, they cannot be treated in a completely negative manner. The ancient Indian civil law is to such a great extent mixed with religious rules, that religious sanctions can be considered as legal sanctions.

On the other hand, however, it must be pointed out that the protection of animals is much better solved in the Dharmaśāstras and, in particular, in the Kautiliya's Arthasāstra. We find there special rules which concern, for instance, the prohibition of killing or torturing animals<sup>1</sup>, protection in their old age and in case of disease<sup>2</sup>, and even some kinds of national parks are mentioned there<sup>3</sup>, as well as prohibition of catching, killing or injuring deer<sup>4</sup>. Although it is doubtful whether the aim of this protection of animals was not merely the protection of private property, in particular the king's property, because even national parks could be created for the purpose of protecting animals (deer) for the king in order to facilitate hunting.

Although from the point of view of law we consider deer as State's property or we qualify them as *res nullius*, in any case we can admit that the protection of animals in the Ancient Indian Dharmaśāstras and Arthasāstras existed.

<sup>1</sup> K. II-43, ( the penalty of 500 *panas* is imposed for torturing to death of a calf or a milch-cow ), K IV-88 prohibition of harness of oxen ( वृषयमुत्तोलाम् ) or cows which did not calve, similarly Kāty 789 & 791, Mn VIII-295-298, V<sub>1</sub> V-52-54 penalty for killing animals enumerated exemplarily, Brh. XXI 16 and Kāty 769-employment of animals at an improper time, etc.

<sup>2</sup> K II-47 sick and old horses should get " bread of charity. " K II-46 old and sick cattle should get from the herdsmen medical treatment, etc.

<sup>3</sup> K II-43 ( 123 3-4 ) अभयवन mentioned twice,

दुष्टा पशुमृगव्याला मत्स्याश्चाभयवाणि ।

अन्यत्र मुनिस्थितिभ्यो वधश्चन्द्रममाप्नुयुः ॥ ( 123 3-4 )

K II-20 establishments of parks for game where all the animals have access etc.

<sup>4</sup> N. II-43 ( नगपशु ) birds fishes and many other animals are enumerated exemplarily etc.

Some Interesting Problems in  
MAHABHARATA TEXT-TRANSMISSION

BY

S. K. BELVALKAR

Problem No 2\*

In the Vulgate or the Nilakantha text of the Mahābhārata, stanza 17th of chapter 59 of the Bhīsmaparvan (corresponding to Cal ed line 2524, P. P. S. Sastri's Madras ed chap 54, st 17; and BORI ed chap. 55, st 16) reads as under :

त्रिनिर्भिक्षाः शरेः (Cal & Mad. नराः) केचिद्  
अन्त्रा (Mad दन्त) पीड (Mad. पीडा) प्रकर्षिणः (Mad. °र्षणाः) ।  
अभीताः (Cal. अदीनाः, Mad. अर्दिताः) समरे शत्रून्  
अभ्यधावन्त दर्पिता (Mad. दर्शिताः) ॥

The stanza occurs as part of a general description of the battle between the Kaurava and the Pāṇḍava warriors. It is thus translated by Protap Chandra Roy .

“ And some combatants were seen, who, though severely wounded, yet rushed cheerfully and proudly upon the foe in battle ”

M N Dutt's translation is as follows

“ Though mortally wounded, some warriors were seen to rush upon the enemy in battle with cheerfulness and pride. ”

Both the translators, it will be noticed, conveniently ignore the second *pāda*, which seems to have bothered scribes, editors, translators and commentators. The manuscripts offer quite a wilderness of variants, some due to similarity of letter-forms

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\* Problem No 1 was published in the *Annals*, BORI, Vol. xxv, pp. 82-87



in the Provincial scripts, but others doubtless caused by deliberate attempts to make suitable sense out of an apparently elusive original.

The B. O. R. Institute's Critical Edition of the Parvan is based upon 34 Mss. of text and 7 Mss. representing five different commentaries, and they offer for the *pāḍu* no less than 22 variant readings, besides 6 others found in Mss. not included in the Critical Apparatus. The Institute's edition claims to be based, as far as possible, upon strictly objective evidence, eschewing, as a matter of principle, all subjective considerations as such—at any rate, as the main determining factor in the choice of a reading; and rules have been formulated as to what kind of objective evidence deserves first preference, what second, and so forth<sup>1</sup>. But where the variants offered are so diverse, and where, as far as I can make out, nearly a dozen different interpretations of the *pāḍu* are possible, can we always avoid bringing in subjective considerations and choosing a reading which gives us "the best" sense? This is the problem.

The case before us is further complicated by the circumstance that the portion of the stanza that is textually uncertain constitutes, in practically all the variants, one compound word, and normally it is not permissible to take one element of the compound from one Ms. and tack on to it another element taken from another Ms. As far as possible, what is offered by a Ms. has to be treated as a unitary reading, which can be modified—if at all—by the substitution, in place of a given letter or letters, of others occupying the same relative place in the compound. IF these are taken from Mss. belonging to the same version, and IF the substitution has a transcriptional probability to recommend it, such as the interchange of म or न, or of त, न, and र in the Śāradā script, or the transfer of the short and long ऋ or उ signs, or the superior मन्त्र or ए-ओ strokes, from one adjacent letter to another.

I give below the available variants classified according to the versions

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<sup>1</sup> For a convenient and up-to-date summing up of the position, compare Sukthankar's Introduction to the *Āraṇyakaparvan*, p. xvii, lines 21-33.

**ŚĀRADĀ VERSION**

Ś<sub>1</sub> अन्तपीडाविकर्षणिः

**KASHMIR VERSION**

K <sub>0</sub> अन्त्रापीडविकर्षणः	K <sub>1</sub> अतापीडं विकर्षिणः
K <sub>2</sub> अन्तपीडविकर्षिणः	K <sub>3</sub> अन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिणः
K <sub>4</sub> अन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षकाः	K <sub>5</sub> अन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षणाः

**BENGALI VERSION**

B <sub>1,2</sub> Same as K <sub>4</sub>	B <sub>3,4</sub> Same as K <sub>3</sub>
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**ARJUNAMISRA VERSION**

D <sub>a1</sub> रन्तपीडाप्रकर्षकाः	D <sub>a2</sub> रन्तापीडप्रकर्षकाः
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**NĪLAKANTHA VERSION**

D <sub>111</sub> Same as K <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>112</sub> Same as K <sub>3</sub>
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**DEVANĀGARĪ VERSION**

D <sub>1</sub> अन्त्रापीडप्रदर्शिनः	D <sub>2,4,7</sub> Same as K <sub>3</sub>
D <sub>3,8</sub> अन्तापीडप्रकर्षिणः	D <sub>6</sub> Same as D <sub>a2</sub>
D <sub>0</sub> यन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिणः	

**TELUGU VERSION**

T <sub>1</sub> अनापीडप्रकर्षणाः	T <sub>2</sub> आन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षणाः
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**GRANTHA VERSION**

G <sub>1,2</sub> आन्त्रपीडप्रकर्षणाः	G <sub>3</sub> अन्त्रपीडप्रकर्षिणः
G <sub>4</sub> Same as T <sub>1</sub>	

**MAĀLAYĀLAM VERSION**

M <sub>1</sub> आन्त्रपिण्डप्रकर्षणाः	M <sub>2</sub> आन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षणाः
M <sub>3,5</sub> आन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिणः	M <sub>4</sub> आन्त्रपिण्डप्रकर्षिणः

**COMMENTARIES**

Ca, 11 [ Passed over ]	Cc दन्तापीडाप्रकर्षणः
Cd दान्तापीडप्रकर्षिणः	Cv Same as K <sub>3</sub>

The extra variants from manuscripts not included in the Critical Apparatus are :

1 रन्तापीडप्रकर्षिणः	2 रन्तापीडप्रकर्षकाः
3 दन्तापीडप्रकर्षिणः	4 दन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षकाः
5 आन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षणाः	6 नानापीडप्रकर्षणाः

Several of the above readings, it will be noticed, do not make any sense at all, unless they are slightly corrected. After that, the following interpretations seem to be possible

(1) अ[आ]न्त्रापीडप्र[वि]कर्षिण [ °र्षका or °र्षणा ] — (The wounded warriors rushed upon the enemy,) dragging after them mass ( *āpiḍa* ) of entrails (from the gaping wounds) ,

(2) अनापीडप्रकर्षणा: — (The warriors, before they rushed upon the enemy,) pulled out (the arrows) so as to remove the (smarting) pain आपीडारहित यथा स्यात् = अनापीडम् ,

(3) दत्तापीडप्र[वि]कर्षिण [ °र्षका. or °र्षणा. ] — This can mean [ a ] They pulled out (the arrows) as they caused severe pain all round: दत्ता आपीडा येस्तान् , or [ b ] They rushed upon the enemy, wishing to excel or get the upper hand of ( *prakarsakāh* ) those that had inflicted pain upon them. दत्ता आपीडा येस्तान् , शत्रून् ,

(4) अ[आ]न्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिण [ °कर्षका or °कर्षणा or °दर्शिन ] — They [ a ] exhibited , [ b ] dragged out, while rushing forth, mass of entrails from their pierced body , Vādirāja, however, explains [ c ] They took out the mass of entrails and put them on the head or round the neck to stem their bleeding wounds .  
 \* आन्त्राणि मत्समालाः आपीडानि छिन्नाशिरसंधानाय शिरोलंकारभूताः कृत्वा प्रकर्षिणः । \* — How exactly this is to be conceived is not quite apparent ,

(5) द[ दा ]न्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिण — This can mean [ a ] They dragged the pierced arrows out (by their own teeth) causing extreme tooth-ache. Devabodha, however, explains [ b ] They rushed forth “wishing to excel the tusk-fight” (of the wounded, and therefore infuriated, elephants) \* हस्तियुध्यमानाः । \*

(6) रन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिण [ °र्षका ] — They rushed forth, dragging after them their (loosened) jewelled head-gear ( *āpiḍa* ) This is possible on the supposition that the head-gear consisted of a long *pheta* or turban ,

(7) अ[ आ ]न्त्रापीडप्रकर्ष[ वि ]णा. [ ण ] — The sense would be similar to no 4 [ b ] above, except that the word *pnḍa* is more familiar than *āpiḍa* ,

(8) नानापीडप्रकर्षणा: — They rushed forth dragging after them their head-gears of various kinds ;

(9) आन्त्रापीडाविकर्षका or 'र्वणा , if emended as 'कर्षकै or 'कर्षणे to qualify the noun शरी , is capable of a simpler interpretation, but the emendation would be purely subjective. — The readings with यन्त्रा° or आन्त्रा° ( ? आर्द्रा° ) as the initial letters of the compound, I am not able to explain

In the Critical Edition I have accepted, as a matter of principle, in view of the plethora of available variants with equal pretensions to originality, the reading of our best Ms , viz Ś1, needing only a slight correction in the last two letters, which was made on the basis of the readings of the allied Mss. K1 2. This is a legitimate procedure, and it so happens that the reading अन्त्रापीडाविकर्षिण. is capable of yielding a tolerably good sense I thus understand the situation. The mortally wounded warriors, [ a ] at the risk of *augmenting the death-pangs* ( *antapiḍā-vikarsnah* ), or better, — with a change of the sibilant, and reading 'विकर्षिण. — [ b ] so as to lessen their death pangs, rushed upon their assailants in revenge. Such an act is conceivable and even probable The picture is in any case not as frightful as that of the warriors plucking out the flesh-embedded arrows by their own teeth, or dragging after them the entrails from the gaping wounds—not caring even to stave them by the hand—or placing garlands of entrails on the head and round the neck !

A passage like the above is the despair of the text-critic, who has to leave behind all his normal methods of objective criticism and make a last forlorn appeal to what is known as " higher criticism " But even there he has to keep as near to the canons of objective criticism as the circumstances would permit. Such extremely elusive passages are, fortunately, rather rare. I do not know whether, with other possible emendations, the passage before us can be made to yield any other satisfactory interpretation I shall gladly and gratefully consider any such, if kindly communicated to me.

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# AN 'ADILSHAHI FARMAN-CORRECTIONS

By

G H Khare

The *farman* which serves as the base of this note was first discovered by Sir J. N. Sarkar in 1930 and its text with an explanatory note was published by him in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. VII, pp 362-364, June 1931. Since then I had the occasion to examine this very *farman* along with others and I found that Sir J. N. Sarkar had committed some mistakes in editing the same. I, therefore, re-edited it with the necessary corrections and explanatory notes and published it in the quarterly of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, Vol XIII. No. 2, September 1932, Persian Sources of Indian History, Vol I. p. 50, 1934. In 1940 were published in a book-form the scattered articles of Sir J. N. Sarkar under the name 'House of Shivaji' in which appears the translation of the *farman* with the explanatory note (chapter VI. p. 84). In the preface of the book the author states that chapter VI has been greatly modified and added to. But I regret to remark that the mistakes shown by me have neither been rectified nor justified. The only change in the new form is the disappearance of the text of the *farman* and consequently the textual mistakes. But neither the purport of the *farman* nor the explanatory note has been modified and the mistakes in them have been repeated. I, therefore, give here the text of the *farman* and correct the two grave mistakes committed by him.

## TEXT OF THE FARMAN

[Seal of Muhammad 'Adilshāh \*]

فرمان ہمایوں شرف [صدور نائب کتائب کابوچی ...] از شہور سنہ  
اربع اربعین (۱۰۵۴) جون ساء حبی دیوسلم از مردودان درگاه والاہ گسدم و  
داداچی کوئد دیو معلی او کہ در طرف کوئدالم است چہند دفع و رفع کردن  
[و] بعض در آوردن ان ولایت عرب و رفع دست گاہ سعادت و شہادت  
ہندہ عمدہ ال [اعتنا] و الاقران لاف الامراحم و الاحسان بدعہم (الہامی و  
لاعتنا رندہ الاعتنا) و الاحواں (کہندوچی و ناجی گہورنیاورا) ناورراے عظام  
یعنی فرمودہ شدہ است ناید کہ او نا [جمعیت] احشام خود برد مسافر الہا  
مدہ از (استصواب مسافر الہا) داداچی کوئد دیو مذکور و معلفان ان حوام  
حوار را گو شمال دادہ بسبب و نابود سار و ان ولایت بعض و بصرف در  
اورد کہ ناعت سرامزاری او است ناداند نکونرا فی التاریخ ہفتم سہر  
جمادی الثانی سنہ ۱۰۵۴

[In the margin\*] بروائگی حضور (شرف) ہمدس ہمایوں (علی)

(L) Sir J N Sarkar has deciphered the words in the round parentheses as 'Khandoji wa Bāji Khopadiyānrā' The *farman* is torn into two strips and Sir J. N. Sarkar was misled. But I have deciphered the *farman* very carefully after joining the two strips of it and I have found that there is the letter  $\gamma$  between  $\gamma^k$  and  $\gamma^b\gamma^b$  and the word must be read as  $\gamma^b\gamma^b\gamma^k$ . Moreover as against seven references<sup>1</sup> where Khandoji and Bāji Ghorpade are mentioned together, I have not come across a single instance as yet where Khandoji and Bāji Khopade are referred to conjointly. I would request Sir J N Sarkar to record somewhere any such references detected by him in the course of his studies. I even doubt about the existence of any Bāji Khopade in Shivāji's times.

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar's reading two Khopades were sent against Shahāji's deputy Dādaji Kondadeva and others, but according to my decipherment two Ghorapades were sent against them. Fortunately my decipherment not only stands on its own merit, but is also corroborated by a very reliable piece of evidence. Sivabhārata whose authenticity and contemporaneity Sir J N. Sarkar has now nothing to grumble against, describes in a graphic manner what Shivāji, the great, had said to the warriors assembled around him at the news of his father's confinement. Therein he refers to his former exploits thus

गृहीता सहिता लोके जयवल्ली मया पुरा ।

स्थापितश्चद्राजश्च तस्यां तदभिलाषुकः ॥

घोरात्मानो घोरफटाः कुपिता इव पन्नगाः ।

मां जांगुलिकमालोक्य सहर्षीं शान्तिमागताः ॥

प्रस्थाप्य प्रथनाय द्राक् मया विद्रावितः पुरा ।

जीवन्नादाय मुक्तश्च फलस्थानपुरेश्वरः ॥ ch. XIII, vv. 43-45

Here three incidents have been enumerated (1) reinstating one Candrarāja on the principality of Jayavalli (Jāvali) after capturing it, (2) subduing the Ghoraphatas (Ghorapades) and (3) making the chief of Phalasthāna (Phaltan) fly away before him. As these three incidents have been mentioned in an exhorting speech by Shivāji, the great, immediately after his

<sup>1</sup> Sanadpatrem p 105, Sivacaritrasahitya Vol II, No. 268, Vol. III, Nos. 544, 547, Vol IV Nos 718, 719, 721

father's imprisonment in the middle of 1648 A. D., the incidents themselves must have taken place before this time. We know that the first incident happened early in 1648 A. D. Supposing the events to have been recorded in a backward sequence, the second must have happened some time before 1648 A. D. Though the *farman* does not refer to Shivaji, the great, the Ghorapades were undoubtedly sent against him, for Dādaji Kondadeva was only the manager of Shahaji's *Jagir* in Mahārāstra, but Shivaji his representative. However as Dādaji was the legal deputy of Shahaji, only they have been mentioned in the *farman* and Shivaji's name deleted. This incident must have taken place immediately after the date of the *farman* (1-8-1644 A. D.) The date of the third incident, therefore, goes back to a still earlier period

(II) In the explanatory note added to the *farman* Sir J. N. Sarkar makes the following statement 'Kanhoji Jedhe' Deshmukh of Bhor, in the Puna district came over to Shivaji's side during the latter's contest with Afzalkhan (1659) and with his own contingent fought the Maratha king's battles right manfully in various places for many years afterwards.' May I remark that both the parts of the statement are incorrect?

Jedhe chronology, which even in the opinion of Sir J. N. Sarkar is one of the most valuable sources of early Maratha history, itself clearly states that Shahaji immediately after his as well as Kanhoji's release from confinement in 1649 A. D. sent the latter to Shivaji at Poona in order to help him against any odds<sup>1</sup> and there are documents which show that Kanhoji constantly aided with Shivaji from 1649 onwards though the Bijapur Sultan and his officers often issued orders in his name against Shivaji. In the same way it can also be shown that Kanhoji did not seem to have survived long after 1659, for we find his sons mentioned in documents from about 1662 onwards<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sivacaritrpradipa p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 46, Sivacaritrasahitya Vol. II, No. 219.

# MIR KHUSRAW OR FARRUKHFĀL - A REJOINDER

BY

G. H. KHARE

Since the publication of my note 'Mir Khusrāw or Farrukhfāl' in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Vol. XXIV, pp 239, 240), I had a chance to attend the Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Udaipur in December 1944. There in the exhibition arranged in connection with that session, I saw a painting of Farrukhfāl in which he was shown reclining on his stomach against a cushion resting on another cushion. The tray probably with some eatables which can be seen in my Society's painting is indeed absent in it, but it has one very important detail which is not to be found in any of the paintings referred to and described in my note. To the proper left of the reclining person stands an old, rather imatiated man in profile, facing to the left and with his hands in a posture of supplication. He has a Mughal turban on his head and a scarf on his shoulders. He is slightly and thinly bearded and a little bit bent as an old man naturally would be. Both the persons are partly touched with pale colours and in all appearance the painting seems to be very old. More important is the fact that it bears twice or thrice the seal with a legend which can be deciphered thus *سہراب خان خاندان عالم گز بادشاہ*. This clearly proves that this painting itself belongs most probably to a period prior to Aurangzeb Ālamgīr. But the most important fact is that it bears the name *مرحہ فال* in Persian at the upper right hand corner and the Nagari legend *सबीह फरूकफाल आसफखानो बेटी* in golden letters at the bottom. Besides these legends there appears the following quatrain at the top of the painting:

حسین کے یہاں در حط یار اسے نہ ہند      ماہ کے درین سر حصار اسے نہ ہند  
ار شوق ہم اعوش ان فامہ موزون      گلا ہم اعوش و کنار اسے نہ ہند

The inscription on the back begins with the word *ہو*, contains the following quatrain and ends with the endorsement *کبیر شیع نظام*

امروز یہاں ار نو منور کشم      اقبال و طغر ہدم و ناور کشم  
ان روز کہ شہا ندعا حواسمی      صد سکر کہ امروز مبسر کشم

It must, however, be admitted that with all these details the question of the identification of the person depicted still remains unsolved.



## MISCELLANEA

### PURĀNIC SOURCES OF THE VIBHŪTIYOGA IN THE GĪTĀ ( X )

BY

A P. KARMAKAR

The Purānas, while dealing with the different aspects of Indian culture, have incorporated materials from existing literature, floating traditions and various other sources. Thus they have ransacked almost all the existing data regarding ancient Indian polity, socio-religious problems, the economic ideals, art and architecture, and others. But it is also too true that while assimilating all that was best in other literature, they have also been a source of inspiration to many an author of the subsequent centuries.

The Bhagavadgītā is an excellent instance in this connection. In fact we find that innumerable passages from the Gītā have been incorporated in the different Purānas. Best of all, even the votaries of the non-Vaiṣṇavite sects have written whole texts after the fashion of the Bhagavadgītā e.g. the *Devīgītā* (Devī-Bhāgavata Purāna) of the Śāktas, and the *Īśvaragītā* (Kūrma Purāna) of the Saivas. But, on the other hand, the Gītā also seems to have been a borrower from the Purānas in so far as there are common features between the passages of the Gītā and the Purānas. One of the unique instances is that of the Vibhūtiyoga of the Bhagavadgītā (chapter X).

Kṛṣṇa is said to have related all about his manifestations in this world. All that is best in every category of the religio-social ideas of the age, is said to have been the particular manifestation of the Supreme Being. Wonderfully enough, we find that similar passages occur in the various Purānas. But they are used in an absolutely different connection. It is said that after Earth was anointed as king, he became the master of the world; and that he later on appointed the lords (sub-) of the plants and others.

We think that such an idea was current in those times—perhaps in the form of a floating tradition. And, while the Purānas seem to have adopted it in its original form, the author of the Gītā seems to have appropriated and made it as his own—of course after having made his own additions to the original. As an instance we are quoting the verses from the *Padma Purāna*<sup>1</sup> for the information of the reader

यदाभिषिक्तः सकलेऽपि राज्ये पृथुर्धरिष्यामधिपो बभूव ॥  
 तथौषधीनामधिपश्चकार यज्ञव्रतानां तपसां च सोमम् ॥ ६९ ॥  
 नक्षत्रताराद्विजवृक्षगुल्मलतावितानस्य च रुक्मगर्भम् ॥  
 अपामधीशं वरुण धनानां राज्ञां प्रभुं वैश्रवणं च तद्वत् ॥ ७० ॥  
 विष्णुं रवीणामधिप वसूनामग्निं च लोकाधिपतिं चकार ॥  
 प्रजापतीनामधिपं च दक्षं चकार शक्रं मरुतामधीशम् ॥ ७१ ॥  
 देव्याधिपानामथ दानवानां प्रह्लादमीशं च यमं पितृणाम् ॥  
 पिशाचरक्षःपशुभूतयक्षवेतालराजं ह्यथ शूलपाणिम् ॥ ७२ ॥  
 प्रालेयशैलं च पतिं गिरिणामीशं समुद्रं सरितामधीशम् ॥  
 गंधर्वविद्याधरकिन्नराणामीशं पुनश्चित्ररथं चकार ॥ ७३ ॥  
 नागाधिपं वासुकिमुग्रवीर्यं सर्पाधिपं तक्षकमादिदेश ॥  
 दिग्दारणानामधिपं चकार गर्जेंद्रमैरावणनामधेयम् ॥ ७४ ॥  
 सुवर्णमीशं पततामथार्वातां राजानमुच्चैः श्रवस चकार ॥  
 सिंहं भृगाणां वृषभं गवां च प्लक्षं पुनः सर्ववनस्पतीनाम् ॥ ७५ ॥  
 पितामहः पूर्वमथाभ्यर्षिचदेतान्पुनः सर्वदिशाधिनाथान् ॥  
 पूर्वैशदिक्पालमथाभ्यर्षिचक्ष्मास्त्रा सुवर्माणमरातिकेतुम् ॥ ७६ ॥  
 ततोऽधिपं दक्षिणतश्चकार सर्वेश्वरं शंखपदाभिधानम् ॥  
 सकेतुमंतं दिगधीशमीशं चकार पञ्चाद्भुवनाङ्गर्भः ॥ ७७ ॥  
 हिरण्यरोमाणमुद्विगीशं प्रजापतिं मेघसुतं चकार ॥  
 अद्यापि कुर्वन्ति दिशामधीशाः सदावहंतस्तु भुवोऽभिरक्षाम् ॥ ७८ ॥

<sup>1</sup> *Padma Purāna, Sṛṣṭi-khanda, Adh 7, V 69 ff*

## KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

By

A. P. Karmarkar

The comparatively cooler times during the duration of the two great wars have really acted as an impetus in the field of Research in India. And after the foundation of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, we find the inauguration of the Gangannath Jha and Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institutes respectively. The whole function of the opening ceremony of the Kuppuswami Sastri Institute was carried on under the presidentship of the Rt Hon V S Srinivasa Sastri, at Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapur, on the 23rd April, 1943. It was all a grand success. Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, Advisor to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, made an inspiring speech and laid stress on the eminent scholarship of the late Pnt. Kuppuswami Sastri, and the learning he valued and loved. Mr. K. Balasubrahmaniam Aiyar read the report of the work done so far.

Both in his life-time and after, Mr. Kuppuswami has acted as a source of inspiration in the field of Indology. And a fitting response has been given by the public. India is in need of such centres of Research. And it is with the greatest admiration and pride that we welcome this new Institute.

The Institute begins the work with a library of 2000 rare volumes, and with the project of a few publications of the writings of the late reputed scholar.

We earnestly make an appeal to the public and especially to the Government of Madras to render substantial help to this Institute.

## REVIEWS

PESHWA BAJIRAO I & MARATHA EXPANSION by V. G. Dighe, M A, Ph D. Pub. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944, Rs 6.

If the remarkable achievements of the Marathas in history have not yet found their legitimate place in historical studies in India, a very large share of the responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Maharashtrians themselves. Though considerable research has been carried on for decades now, the fruits of such studies have not been made available to non-Marathi readers by local writers. The result has been an encroachment of this field by ill-equipped outsiders, sometimes with disastrous effects. The sooner historians of Maharashtra awaken to the seriousness of this the better will it be to the interests of Maratha history.

Those obsessed with microscopic research have also been labouring under the delusion that the stream of materials must run absolutely dry before they can undertake to utilise it in writing a satisfactory or correct history of the Marathas. This will never happen. Meanwhile they cannot prevent aliens poaching into their preserves with undesirable consequences. What Shivaji and Bajirao did in the political field needs to be repeated in the field of historiography by the natives of the soil. No real history can be written by outsiders.

We therefore heartily welcome the present monograph under review, produced by Dr Dighe of the Bombay Records Office. A short notice of this important contribution, written under irksome restrictions of paper economy, cannot do adequate justice to it. Besides, it is easier to pick holes in the writings of others than to produce anything impeccable oneself. It is surprising that the greatest military genius after Shivaji, produced by the Maratha race, has taken so long to attract a native biographer. Bajirao I wrote a very important and glowing chapter of Maratha history with 'blood and iron' between 1720-40. Dr. Dighe has chronicled his 'political biography' with

meticulous effort and thereby filled in an important gap with the careful sifting of up-to-date materials. In English, Bajirao was incidentally dealt with from the Mughal angle by Irvine in his *Later Mughals*, and by Dr. Khan, from Persian materials, in his *Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I*. Professor Sinha's *Rise of the Peshwa Power*, largely based upon the *Riyasat* of Rao Bahadur Sardesai, had all the limitations of an introductory work. The present work is more mature, scientific and terse. It completes the author's Marathi work entitled मराठ्यांच्या उत्तरेतील मोहिमा (१७२०-१७४०) published in 1933, bringing to bear upon the theme the fruits of his further research since then. His detailed treatment of the Janjira and Salsette campaigns bears evidence of this. Unlike other biographers of Bajirao, Dr. Dighe has avoided the perhaps not unpardonable temptation of romantic treatment. He never digresses from what is historically relevant to his deliberately restricted subject.

This is not a complete and all-sided biography of the great national hero, nor a history of his times. It modestly confines itself to 'Maratha Expansion' without venturing into the speculative fields of wiser statesmanship. In other words, Dr. Dighe has not indulged in the easy diversion of being wise after the event. Readers will readily concur with his verdict that "with all his achievements Bajirao cannot be hailed as a great constructive genius fit to rank with Shivaji. He made no attempt to mould or reform the political institutions of his state in a way that would benefit his people permanently."

A valuable bibliography, interesting appendices and a helpful index at the end of his sixteen chapters have enhanced the utility of this important contribution to the study of Maratha history for English readers. Minor errors like "to effect a participation of his kingdom" (p. 18) and the discrepancy of spelling *Husen* Ali in some places and *Husain* Ali at others might not be overlooked.

S. R. Sharma

BRHAT-KATHAKOŚA OF ĀCĀRYA HARISENA, edited for the first time by A. N. Upadhye, M A, D Litt, Professor, Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Singhi Jaina Series, No. 17, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1943 Quarto, pp. 20 + 128 ( Introduction ) + 402 ( Text, Notes, Indices etc )

Under the general editorship of the veteran Jaina scholar, Muni Jina Vijayaji, the Singhi Jaina Series, founded by the pious and enlightened liberality of Sri Bahadur Singhji Singhi of Calcutta and now given a permanence by being associated with the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay, has already signalised itself by the publication of several important Jaina works. The eminence and erudition of the general editor furnish in itself a guarantee of the high standard of scholarship maintained in the texts which he has himself edited, as well as in those which has been edited by scholars carefully selected by him ; and the large-sized volumes, printed on good paper and in bold type by the well-known Nirnay Sagar Press of Bombay, present an attractive appearance to their substantial content.

Among the works so far published in this series, the most interesting to the general public are the two Prabandha collections of Merutunga and Rājasekhara Sūri, to which is now added the present publication, as important specimens of Jaina narrative literature. Professor Adinath Neminath Upadhye, who has already to his credit critical editions of several Prakrit, Apabhramśa and Sanskrit texts, has very wisely selected the present *editio princeps* of Harisena's *Kathā-kośa*, which certainly keeps up his established reputation of conscientious thoroughness and scholarly skill. It is unfortunate, however, that the editor had to start with the serious handicap of rather imperfect manuscript material, for the only three not-very-correct Devanāgarī paper manuscripts available for constituting the text belong to the same family or group, and go back, on the editor's own showing, to a palpably " common source in the near past " This has naturally taxed the editor's skill and scholarship to the utmost ; but one must say that he has attained a very large measure of success in presenting a readable text, to which is appended a full apparatus criticus and textual notes.

The lengthy but learned introduction, written with care, diligence and soundness of judgment, brings together all available material bearing upon the work itself, the author, its data, its language, the type of narrative literature it represents, its sources and extent of indebtedness, and other relevant points of interest and importance. In this connexion the editor goes back to the early legendary elements in Vedic and Epic literatures, and distinguishes between what he calls the Brāhmanic and Sramanic ideology respectively, postulating the evolution of a great "Magadhan religion," indigenous in its essential traits which in his opinion, is responsible for the emergence of different types of legends, different ethical values and different outlook. He agrees with Winternitz that the Jaina and Buddhist literatures, as the best representatives of this Magadhan religion, are the major custodians of the ancient Indian ascetic poetry, which finds its best expression in their tales and fables. After a brief survey of Buddhist narrative literature, the editor analyses the broad traits of the narrative sections of the canonical and post-canonical Jaina literature, and finds in them the same ascetic and didactic tendencies. With regard to later types, he distinguishes five different kinds of Jaina narrative literature, consisting respectively of the lives of Salākā-purusas, biographies of individual Tirthamkaras, the religious tale presented in the romantic form (e. g. the lost *Tarangalotā*), the semi-historical Prabandhas and lastly the Kathānakas. It is shown that the didactic and dogmatic spirit of the ascetic ideal is writ large on all of them. This is followed by a diligent survey of the Kathānaka literature with which we are here directly concerned, followed by a detailed account of the Ārādhana texts, especially the *Bhagavati Ārādhana*, which cover a wide range of dogmatic and ascetic subjects. The editor believes that the *Kathā-kośa* is directly associated with the *Bhagavati Ārādhana*, and shows that the source of the various Kathā-kośas go back to some Prakrit commentary on this important Prakrit text. The title and content of Harisena's *Kathā-kośa*, in particular, are then discussed, the various strata of the text analysed and its relation to other Kathā-kośas carefully examined. Its cultural heritage and literary kinship are also scrutinised, social and historical

information gleaned, and the language of the text, particularly its grammar and vocabulary, critically studied. The lexical and grammatical peculiarities, especially the obvious Prakritisms, Sanskritisation and Vernacularisms, are indeed of great interest to the student of the so-called Jaina Sanskrit. With regard to the author Harisena, it is found that he belonged to Punnāṭa-saṃgha, and that he composed his *Kathā-kośa* near Wadhawan in Kathiawad in 931-32 A D., during the period of Vināyaka-pāla of the Gurjara-pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj.

There can be no doubt that the publication bears ample evidence of careful scholarship and unstinted labour, and the very competent and meticulous editing certainly enhances the intrinsic value and interest of the work itself. The text contains 157 stories of well told and varied interest. Although the main object is to uphold the moral and religious ideals of Jainism, its importance consists in the place it occupies in Indian narrative and ascetic literature in general, and the labours of the editor are amply justified from this point of view.

S. K. De



- 1 MOUNTAINS OF INDIA, By B C Law, M A., B L., Ph.D.,  
D.Litt. Series No. 5 of the Calcutta Geographical Society,  
University of Calcutta, 1944. Pp. iii+56
- 2 RIVERS OF INDIA, By B. C. Law, M.A , B L., Ph D,  
D Litt Series No. 6 of the Calcutta Geographical Society,  
University of Calcutta, 1944 Pp iii+27.

In the above monographs Dr B. C Law has given a systematic and brilliant survey of the Mountains and Rivers of India. In doing so, he has made use of Indian literature, the accounts of the Greek Geographers, and the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims. The present works are the author's excellent master-pieces.

- 3 UJJAYINI IN ANCIENT INDIA, By B C Law, M A ,  
B L., Ph D, D Litt Published by the Archaeological  
Department, Gwalior State, 1944. Pp V+42+ Illustrative  
Plates Nos 8

With his rare vision and perspective Dr B C Law has done full justice to the subject. The work deals with the various topics (1) Name and Location, (2) Evidence of Yuan Chwang, and Ptolemy, (3) Political History, (4) Ujjayini on ancient coins, (5) Ujjayini as centre of learning, and finally, (6) Religious history. The work proves an excellent contribution especially on account of its diction, method of treatment and originality of thought.

- 4 THE HOLY GĪTĀ, Edited with an Introduction, Text,  
Translation and Notes, by J J Pandya, M A , Kitabghai,  
Rajkot, 1944. Pp xxvi+246 Price 12/8

The Bhagavadgītā is being edited and re-edited either with its translation or otherwise. The unique feature of the present edition is that it is decently published from the point of view of popularizing it. The get up of the book is excellent and so is the matter. We strongly commend this work to readers both in the East and the West especially for its decent get up.

- 5 **EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA**, (2nd Edition, revised and enlarged), by Dr A S Altekar, M A., LL.B., D.Litt  
Published by Nand Kishor and Bros., Benares, 1944.  
Pp. ix + 319, Price Rs. 4/8

This is the second edition of the work. The book has been enlarged on a comprehensive scale. In the new chapter on 'General Resume', the author has made brilliant comparisons between the eastern and the Greek and Roman thinkers and medieval and modern educationists. We need not lay stress on the point again that the work is the first of its kind, and that it requires a careful study both at the hands of research scholars and a general reader.

- 6 **RGVEDA-SAMHITĀ WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SĀYANĀCĀRYA**, Vol III, Mandalas 6-8. Published by the Vaidic Samsodhan Mandal, Poona, 1941. Pp. xvii + 64 + 967 + 2. Price Rs 16/-

The third Volume of the work containing Mandalas 6-8 is placed before the public now. We would only repeat what has been expressed by Dr Katre in connection with the early publications 'The Tilak Mahārāstra University and its Vedic Research Institute have done inestimable service to the cause of Indian studies by their sustained efforts and keen critical acumen and deserve every encouragement from the Indian public, Governments and princes in particular'. The remark stands true even to this day.

- 7 **ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY**, compiled by Pandit V Krishnamacharya under the Supervision of Dr. C Kunhan Raja. The Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, 1944. Price Rs 10/-

Pandit V. Krishnamacharya has prepared this Catalogue under the supervision of the eminent scholar Dr C Kunhan Raja. The work has fulfilled the earnest need of scholars, who can now have at least a peep into the list of the most valuable manuscripts deposited in the Adyar Library. The manuscripts themselves cover a very vast field of Sanskrit literature in all its branches. It is really a commendable attempt indeed!

- 8 A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRITA AND PRAKRITA MANUSCRIPTS in the Library of the University of Bombay, Vols I & II. Compiled by Prof. G V. Devasthali, M.A. University of Bombay, 1944. Price Rs. 20/- per set

This is a unique Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts belonging originally to the Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection and the Bhagavatsmghji Collection of manuscripts respectively, now located in the Library of the University of Bombay. Only those who have worked in the line may realize what unsparing labour must have been devoted towards the preparation of these volumes. Prof. Devasthali has done the whole work excellently enough with the necessary broad vision and perspective which he possesses. The volumes cover an account of not less than 2408 manuscripts. Prof. Devasthali and Dr P. M. Joshi, Librarian of the University, deserve our congratulations for bringing out these volumes so successfully.

- 9 CATALOGUE OF THE ANUP SANSKRIT LIBRARY, Prepared by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, Esqr., M.O L., Anup Sanskrit Library, Fort, Bikaner, 1944 Pp. iii + 185

The authors have really done a great service to the cause of Indology by preparing this most valuable and excellent catalogue of the varied collection of 1325 rare Sanskrit manuscripts housed in the Bikaner Fort.

- 10 EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAISNAVA FAITH AND MOVEMENT IN BENGAL, By Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.Litt. (London) Published by General Printers and Publishers Ltd. Calcutta, 1942. Pp ii + 536. Price Rs 10/-

This could be said to be one of the most brilliant works written by the author in his mature years. The work is divided into seven chapters and deals with various topics i.e., The Beginning of Bengal Vaisnavism (Chap I), The advent of Caitanya (II), The Six Gosvamins of Vrndavana (III), The Devotional sentiments (Rasa-sāstra) (IV), Theology and Philosophy (V), Ritualism and Devotional Practices (VI), and finally, The Literary works (VII).

As the author himself remarks in his Preface, 'Although the term Bengal Vaisnavism is not co-extensive with the religious system associated with the name of Caitanya and his adherents, the present work limits itself to a study of Caitanyaism, which is Vaisnavism *par excellence* in Bengal. It is further limited to the early history of Caitanyaism'.

After the writing of general treatises on the subject of Vaisnavism, one really felt the want of more specialised works in the field. During the last few years works like the *Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra* by Prof. R. D. Ranade, *Vaiṣṇavism in Gujarat* by Dr Thooty, and our work on *Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭaka*, have already stepped into the field. And Dr. De's work really fills in the great gap in the history of Bengal mysticism. With due deference to all the other scholars in the field, we must say, that Dr. De has for the first time enunciated the truth of the philosophical basis of the mystic school of Caitanya. With the writing of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa the wave of Bhakti spread in every nook and corner in India. And eventually the Vāraṅkaris of Mahārāṣṭra, the Haridāsas and Virasaivas of Karnāṭaka, the Vallabhapanthis of Gujarat, and the Caitanyas of Bengal have all spread the teachings of this most inspiring work. But the distinction remains in so far as every school differs in its mystical interpretation of the teachings of the Bhāgavata. Barring aside the problem, for the present, whether Caitanya drew a direct inspiration from Vyāsarāya of Karnāṭaka, it may still be said with great credit that Caitanyaism has great similarities with the school of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭaka.

The present writer has made a marvellous attempt by bringing forth this unique work on the teachings of Caitanya. The author himself has indicated the nature of the difficulties beset while writing. He says 'The peculiar system of erotic-mystic devotion of Caitanyaism, set forth as it is in a vital back-ground of myth, miracle and sentiment and speculation, and demanding a highly refined and almost super-human capacity of emotional abandon ecstasy, is not yet a superseded curiosity capable of exact academic appraisalment'.

Still the author has made a judicious selection of the varied materials—both Sanskrit and Bengali, and has presented them before us in the light of the scientific methods—which are so eminently at his command. We heartily recommend this work eminent production to readers in general and scholars in particular.

A. P. Karmakar

1 VIŚĀKHA-DATTA'S MUDRĀ-RĀKṢASA, translated  
into English from the Original Sanskrit by R S Pandit,  
Bombay New Book Company 1944

The *Mudrā-rākṣasa* is unique in certain respects. Unlike most other dramas, the theme of which is love, the Signet Ring deals with the problems of state-craft and policy. It has no room for sex-problems. It deals with men engaged in War and the grim struggle for power, and severely eschews women—so that apart from women attendants the only woman introduced in the play is the wife of Candanadāsa. "The author is a realist. The signet-ring is a serious play—founded upon ideas and the characters and plot are evolved to express them." This elegant translation of the unique play is literal—and closely follows the text both in the prose and the lyrical passages. The Introductory note gives some very valuable thoughts on the vital nature of Indian cultural traditions, on the history of the first contact of East and West, on the misconception of Greek influence in Indian Art and drama, and on the nature of Sanskrit plays and the peculiar features of the play in question. At the end is added an excursus on a variety of topics such as the Sanskrit Drama, Pāṭaliputra, the author and the age of the Guptas, etc., and at the end are added textual notes. This is a very valuable contribution to the study of Sanskrit drama.

2 EPIGRAPHICAL ECHOES OF KĀLIDĀSA, by Sivarama-  
murti, M A, Memoirs of the Archaeological Society of  
South India No 1 Madras

Max Muller's theory of the renaissance of classical literature in the Gupta era has already become an exploded article of faith, and that chiefly through a harvest of epigraphical evidence gathered from swaths after swaths of centuries. The present work gives in a vivid manner echoes of our classical poets—but chiefly of Kālidāsa—from epigraphical records of from the 2nd to the 15th century, and demonstrates clearly how Sanskrit Classical poetry was a vital and living force which had shaped and moulded the intellectual life of our country so much so that our poets and epigraphists almost breathed that poetry with the

common air. This small book certainly makes very interesting reading, and the author deserves our thanks for opening up a new vista in our literary heritage

3 **SNUSĀVIJAYA OF SUNDARARĀJAKAVI**, edited by  
Dr V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph D., Reprinted from the Annals  
of Oriental Research, University of Madras, Vol. VII, No. 1

The age-old domestic problem of the conflict between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law, the inexorable "ring-out the old and the ring-in the new," and the jealousy, the heart-burning, the anguish of divided loyalties, the great suffering which accompany these transitions have been all very well portrayed in this one-Act-Rupaka, written by a poet who belongs to the latter half of the XIX century. The theme is too modern for classical Sanskrit, but too hackneyed and jejune for a modern reader. The author has, however, a facile command of Sanskrit metre and his verses are simple and smooth and flowing.

4 **KĀLIDĀSA'S RĪTUSAMHĀRAM**, with the commentaries  
of Manirāma and Amarakīrtisūri, Edited by Sita Ram  
Sehgal, M.A., M.O.L

This is vol. 2 of the Aryan Culture Series. It contains along with the commentary of Manirāma, a fragmentary commentary of Amarakīrtisūri whom the editor places at the middle of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. But it is not quite clear how so late and so fragmentary a commentary deserves to be rescued from oblivion. Beyond giving a word for word paraphrase of the text, the commentary does not supply any grammatical, rhetorical or critical aids to our appreciation of the author. The book is priced at Rupees ten, which in spite of War-time inflation is too exorbitant considering the worth of the material offered in its pages. Nor is the edition as critical as one would have wished. Two or three instances should suffice—thus a Pāda index is added but the editor should have gone a step further and indicated by the letters a, b, c, d whether the Pāda in question is the 1st or 2nd or 3rd or 4th in the quatrain. The 3rd Pāda of the opening verse of canto III is

printed as आपकशालिकचिरा तनुगात्रयष्टि which ought to have been printed as one expression—आपकशालिकचिरातनुगात्रयष्टि to yield proper meaning. It is not clear if this is just a slip or a deliberate emendation. Both commentators regard it as one compound expression, which to our mind, it is. On page xxvii the expression "wide off the mark" for the correct English expression "wide of the mark" is used probably through inadvertence. The brief survey of the season, given in the introduction, however, shows the editor's wide acquaintance with Sanskrit classical poetry

5 THE ĀRYĀ-ŚATAKA OF APPAYYA DĪKṢĪTA, edited  
by N. A. Gore, M A, with a Sanskrit commentary by  
V Raghavan, M.A., Ph D

Prof. Gore deserves our thanks for bringing out this century of Āryās, which is a delightfully devout and fervent poem, with an undercurrent of humour, and an abundance of playful wit and punning repartee, wherein the worshipper prays for grace and mercy. Dr. Raghavan's exposition of the text is very lucid and is certainly a very valuable aid to our understanding of the poem. The question whether the work belongs to the famous Appayya Dikṣita of Kuvalayānanda and Citramīmāṃsā fame or to some other writer of the same name must remain undecided in the absence of decisive evidence, although Prof. Gore inclines to the view that it is the composition of the famous rhetorician

6 DHVANYĀLOKA AND LOCANA—WITH KAUMUDĪ,  
by Uttungodaya, and Upalocana by Mm. Kuppuswami  
Śāstri, published by the Kuppuswami Śāstri Research  
Institute, Madras.

This is just the first uddyota of the Dhvanyāloka with two new commentaries. The text is very carefully constituted from new Mss. and will be, when complete, a valuable help for a clear understanding of this classical work on rhetoric. It is to be hoped that the managers of the Institute will endeavour to publish the remaining fascicules without much loss of time

7 **सुन्दरकाण्डम्**, or the Flight of Hanumān, the Vānara<sup>2</sup> (Super-man) chief, by air. By Diwan Bahadur C. N. Mehta

The main thesis of the author is "that the great epic War of the Rāmāyana was practically one between the combined race of *Naras* (Aryans) *Vānaras* or *Hari-Rksas* (Mongolians and Russians) who lived in the Northern Hemisphere on one side and the Negro (*Rāksasa*) races inhabiting the Southern Hemisphere on the other." So it was a global struggle, and on philological grounds the author seeks to identify Rāvana's Lanka with distant Australia, while the Andaman and Nikobar represent the submerged Maināka mountain—(we have to drop Anda—from Andaman and -bar from Nicobar and what remains is Man + Nico—which is your मेनक—a fact which is as clear as daylight provided you have the discerning eye of the etymologist who sturdily holds the motto 'न तु न निर्दयात्-यथार्थं विभक्ती-सङ्गमयेत्'). Java, Sumatra, Bali and other island ridges are the Sunda group of islands over which by island-hopping Hanumān flew to Rāvana's Lankā i. e. Australia. This is the story of the Sundara-Kānda which should really be Sunda-Kānda as it refers to Hanumān's flight over the Sunda group of islands. One wonders what to admire in this book—whether his philological temerity, his imaginative sweep or his comprehensive vision of a world divided latitudinally into the Northern and Southern Hemispheres peopled by white and yellow races on the one hand and the dark races on the other.

C. R. Devadhar



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## OBITUARY NOTICE

PRIN. V. K. RAJAWADE, M. A.

Born in 1860, in a village in Konkan, Prin. V. K. Rajawade, matriculated from the N E School, Poona, had his College education in the Deccan College, Poona, and the Wilson College Bombay, and he passed his B A examination in the first class in 1882. It is said that he had a serious difference of opinion with his Examiners and this lost him his first class in M. A., so that he refused to take his degree, feeling angry at the injustice done to him. This mood was subsequently put away by some of his friends, so that a spirit of perfect understanding and respect for the examiner ultimately prevailed in the heart of this fiery examinee. The examiner was no less a person than the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the *guru* of young scholar, and strange as it would seem, Prof. Rajawade, later entertained highest respect for his teacher, a respect which was amply verified in the Professor's strenuous efforts in connection with all the activities of the Bhandarkar O R Institute, ever since the idea of its foundation was mooted in the early years of the second decade of this century.

Although sincerely attached to Sanskrit studies, Rajawade, after passing his M A, got an appointment as Professor of English in the Arts College at Karachi, and there he applied himself to English studies most intensively, so that he soon made for himself a name as a model Professor of English. When Prof. Kelkar of the Fergusson College, died, the late Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, in the interests of the D. E. Society, most cordially invited Professor Rajawade to join the Society. Rajawade had sure prospects of substantial 'promotion, but in a spirit of pure sacrifice, he left Karachi, and joined the D. E. Society, where he made his English teaching most beneficial to thousands of students, and retired in 1914.

His genuine love of Sanskrit had, however, only been suppressed, all these years, and as soon as he was free, he took to

Prin V k Rajawade, M. A



Born 27-2-1860 )

| Died 17-12-1944



Sanskrit studies, and one is surprised to find, that at an age when almost all persons, in different walks of life, seek physical rest and mental peace, this giant with fresh energy and bright intellect, aided by a clear head, did creditable work in that field. His "Words in R̥gveda," as also his Marathi and English editions of Yāska's "Nirukta," are proofs of his ability and patient labour.

After retiring from the D E Society, his services were, for some time, utilised in the Jñānakōśa work of Dr. Ketkar, and it was at this time, that some students and admirers of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar conceived an idea of starting an Oriental Research Institute, in Poona, to commemorate the name and work of the great Sanskrit scholar, and Prin. Rajawade joined the working Committee, and took active part in the deliberations and activities that led to the foundation, on 6th July 1917, of the B. O. R. Institute. Prin. Rajawade was the first Chairman of the Executive Board, and when, soon afterwards, the proposal for bringing out a Critical Edition of the Mbh. was brought into proper working order, Prin. Rajawade acted as a member of the Mbh. Editorial Board, in which latter capacity, he continued to work till the end of his life. The preliminaries of the Institute were really a hard task for the workers, and it goes to the credit of Prof. Rajawade, that he never flinched from this self-imposed duty. Later on, he left Poona, to work as Principal of the M. T. B. Arts College, at Surat, where he used to teach Sanskrit. After his return to Poona, Prin. Rajawade was elected President of the Vaidika Samsodhana Mandala, where he guided the batch of young scholars like Messrs. Sontakke and Kashikar, and Vedic Research has had a substantial addition in the form of the critical edition of R̥gveda Samhitā, with the Sāyanabhāṣya, which this Society is bringing out.

Prin. Rajawade suffered from weak eye sight, but he never allowed this defect to hinder his work. A strict disciplinarian and a staunch adherent of Truth, this respectable Ṛṣi, had a tender, human heart, which never failed to draw sympathetically towards the deserving sufferer. He suffered from serious family losses, the untimely death, in 1920, of his son Prof. C. V. Rajawade was really a stunning blow, to the father already

bowed down by age, but this bereaved parent merged all his sorrow in his favorite pursuit which his death (17-12-1944) alone could put a stop to !

The Bhandarkar Institute Celebrated its Silver Jubilee in January 1943, when due honour was done to this veteran scholar, by having at his hands, planted a Vata tree, to commemorate the occasion. Of late Prin Rajawade, being much advanced in age, took little part in any public activities, yet he was always ready to speak openly with any scholar, who saw him in his home, and many scholars, young and old, thus availed themselves of his help.

He was scrupulously regular in all his daily habits, and his ability to work, even in extreme old age, was due mainly to his good health.

S. N. Tadpatrikar

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